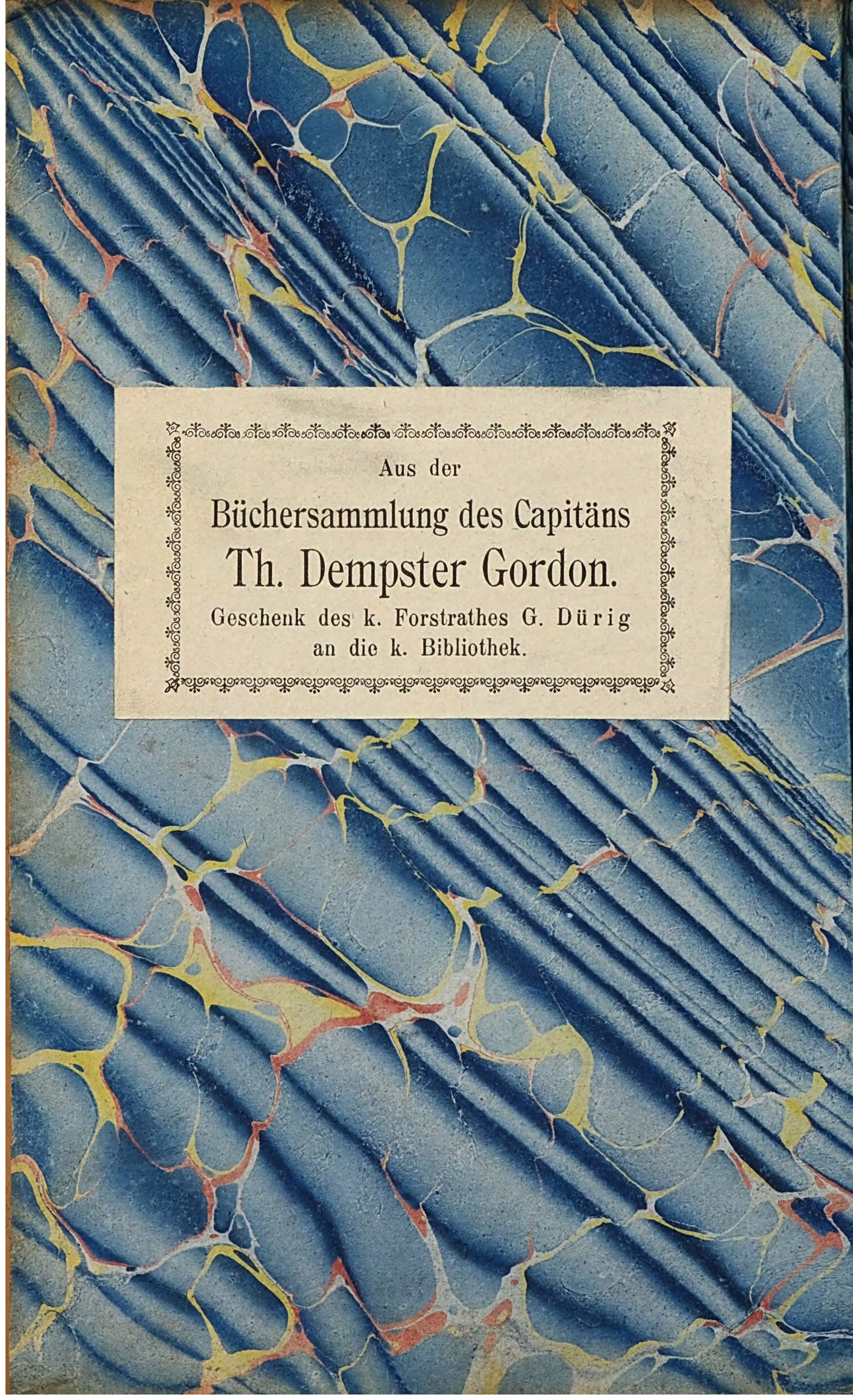






The image shows the front cover of a book. The cover is decorated with a marbled paper pattern in shades of blue, yellow, and red. A central rectangular label with a decorative border contains the following text:

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THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF

THE GREAT

CHARLES THE FIRST

BY







# PLUTARCH'S LIVES,

TRANSLATED FROM

THE ORIGINAL GREEK;

WITH

NOTES, CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL;

AND A

LIFE OF PLUTARCH.

---

BY JOHN LANGHORNE, D. D.

AND

WILLIAM LANGHORNE, A. M.

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A NEW EDITION, CAREFULLY CORRECTED THROUGHOUT.

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## PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

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### PERICLES.

WHEN Cæsar happened to see some strangers at Rome carrying young dogs and monkeys in their arms, and fondly caressing them, he asked, "Whether the women in their country never bore any children;" thus reproofing with a proper severity those who lavish upon brutes that natural tenderness which is due only to mankind. In the same manner we must condemn those who employ that curiosity and love of knowledge which nature has implanted in the human soul, upon low and worthless objects, while they neglect such as are excellent and useful. Our senses, indeed, by an effect almost mechanical, are passive to the impression of outward objects, whether agreeable or offensive : but the mind, possessed of a self-directing power, may turn its attention to whatever it thinks proper. It should, therefore, be employed in the most useful pursuits, not barely in contemplation, but in such contemplation as may nourish its faculties. For as that colour is best suited to the eye, which by its beauty and agreeableness at the same time both refreshes and strengthens the sight, so the application of the mind should be directed to those subjects, which through the channel of pleasure may lead us to our proper happiness. Such are the works of virtue. The very description of these inspires us with emulation, and a strong desire to imitate them ; whereas in other things, admiration does not always lead us to



imitate what we admire; but, on the contrary, while we are charmed with the work, we often despise the workman. Thus we are pleased with perfumes and purple, while dyers and perfumers appear to us in the light of mean mechanics.

Antisthenes,\* therefore, when he was told that Ismenias played excellently upon the flute, answered properly enough, "Then he is good for nothing else; otherwise he would not have played so well." Such also was Philip's saying to his son, when at a certain entertainment he sang in a very agreeable and skilful manner, "Are not you ashamed to sing so well?" It is enough for a prince to bestow a vacant hour upon hearing others sing, and he does the muses sufficient honour, if he attends the performances of those who excel in their arts.

If a man applies himself to servile or mechanic employments, his industry in those things is a proof of his inattention to nobler studies. No young man of noble birth or liberal sentiments, from seeing the Jupiter at Pisa, would desire to be Phidias, or from the sight of the Juno at Argos, to be Polycletus; or Anacreon, or Philemon, or Archilochus, though delighted with their poems.† For though a work may be agreeable, yet esteem of the author is not the necessary consequence. We may therefore conclude, that things of this kind which excite not a spirit of emulation, nor produce any strong impulse or desire to imitate them, are of little use to the beholders. But virtue has this peculiar property, that

\* Antisthenes was a disciple of Socrates, and founder of the sect of the Cynics.

† This seems to be somewhat inconsistent with that respect and esteem, in which the noble arts of poetry and sculpture were held in ancient Greece and Rome, and with that admiration which the proficient in some arts always obtain among the people. But there was still a kind of jealousy between the poets and philosophers, and our philosophical biographer shows pretty clearly by the Platonic parade of this introduction, that he would magnify the latter at the expense of the former.



at the same time that we admire her conduct, we long to copy the example. The goods of fortune we wish to enjoy, virtue we desire to practise; the former we are glad to receive from others, the latter we are ambitious that others should receive from us. The beauty of goodness has an attractive power; it kindles in us at once an active principle; it forms our manners, and influences our desires, not only when represented in a living example, but even in an historical description.

For this reason we chose to proceed in writing the lives of great men, and have composed this tenth book, which contains the life of Pericles, and that of Fabius Maximus, who carried on the war against Hannibal: men who resembled each other in many virtues, particularly in justice and moderation, and who effectually served their respective commonwealths, by patiently enduring the injurious and capricious treatment they received from their colleagues and their countrymen. Whether we are right in our judgment or not, will be easy to see in the work itself.

Pericles was of the tribe of Acamantis, and of the ward of Cholargia. His family was one of the most considerable in Athens, both by the father and mother's side. His father Xanthippus, who defeated the king of Persia's generals at Mycale, married Agariste, the niece of Clisthenes, who expelled the family of Pisistratus, abolished the tyranny, enacted laws, and established a form of government tempered in such a manner as tended to unanimity among the people, and the safety of the state. She dreamed that she was delivered of a lion, and a few days after brought forth Pericles. His person in other respects was well turned, but his head was disproportionably long. For this reason almost all his statues have the head covered with a helmet, the statuaries choosing, I suppose, to hide that defect. But the Athenian poets called him Schinocephalus or *onion-*



*head*, for the word *schinos* is sometimes used instead of *scilla*, a *sea-onion*. Cratinus, the comic writer, in his play called *Chirones*, has this passage :

FACTION received old TIME to her embraces :  
Hence came a tyrant-spawn, on earth called Pericles,  
In heaven the *head-compeller*.

And again in his *Nemesis* he thus addresses him,

Come, blessed Jove,\* the high and mighty HEAD,  
The friend of hospitality !

And Teleclides says,

Now, in a maze of thought he ruminates  
On strange expedients, while his HEAD, depress'd  
With its own weight, sinks on his knees : and now  
From the vast caverns of his brain burst forth  
Storms and fierce thunders.

And Eupolis, in his *Demi*, asking news of all the great orators, whom he represented as ascending from the shades below, when Pericles comes up last, cries out,

HEAD of the tribes that haunt those spacious realms,  
Does he ascend ?

Most writers agree, that the master who taught him music was called Damon, the first syllable of whose name they tell us, is to be pronounced short : but Aristotle informs us, that he learned that art of Pythoclides. As for Damon, he seems to have been a politician, who under the pretence of teaching music, concealed his great abilities from the vulgar :

\* Pericles (as Plutarch afterwards observes,) was called *Olympius*, or Jupiter. The poet here addresses him under that character with the epithet of *μακάριε*, which signifies *blessed*, but may also signify *great-headed*. In our language we have no word with such a double meaning. Just above, he is called *Cephalegeretes*, *head-compeller* (as if his head was an assemblage of many heads,) instead of *Nephelegeretes*, *cloud-compeller*, a common epithet of Jupiter.



and he attended Pericles as his tutor and assistant in politics, in the same manner as a master of the gymnastic art attends a young man to fit him for the ring. However, Damon's giving lessons upon the harp was discovered to be a mere pretext, and, as a busy politician and friend to tyranny, he was banished by the ostracism. Nor was he spared by the comic poets. One of them, named Plato, introduces a person addressing him thus,

Inform me, Damon, first, does fame say true?  
And wast thou really *Pericles's Chiron*?\*

Pericles also attended the lectures of Zeno of Elea,† who, in natural philosophy, was a follower of Parmenides, and who, by much practice in the art of disputing, had learned to confound and silence all his opponents; as Timon the Phlasiian declares in these verses,

Have you not heard of Zeno's mighty powers,  
Who could change sides, yet changing triumph'd still  
In the tongue's wars.

But the philosopher with whom he was most intimately acquainted, who gave him that force and sub-

\* The word *Chiron* again is ambiguous, and may either signify, *wast thou preceptor to Pericles?* or, *wast thou more wicked than Pericles?*

† This Zeno was of Elea, a town of Italy, and a Phocian colony; and must be carefully distinguished from Zeno the founder of the sect of the Stoics. The Zeno here spoken of was respectable for attempting to rid his country of a tyrant. The tyrant took him, and caused him to be pounded to death in a mortar. But his death accomplished what he could not effect in his lifetime: for his fellow citizens were so much incensed at the dreadful manner of it, that they fell upon the tyrant and stoned him. As to his arguments, and those of his master Parmenides, pretended to be so invincible, one of them was to prove there can be no such thing as motion, since a thing can never move in the place where it is, nor in the place where it is not. But this sophism is easily refuted; for motion is the passing of a thing or person INTO a new part of space.



limity of sentiment superior to all the demagogues, who, in short, formed him to that admirable dignity of manners, was Anaxagoras the Clazomenian. This was he whom the people of those times called *nous* or *intelligence*, either in admiration of his great understanding and knowledge of the works of nature, or because he was the first who clearly proved, that the universe owed its formation neither to chance nor necessity, but to a pure and unmixed MIND, who separated the homogeneous parts from the other with which they were confounded.

Charmed with the company of this philosopher, and instructed by him in the sublimest sciences, Pericles acquired not only an elevation of sentiment, and a loftiness and purity of style, far removed from the low expression of the vulgar, but likewise a gravity of countenance which relaxed not into laughter, a firm and even tone of voice, an easy deportment, and a decency of dress, which no vehemence of speaking ever put into disorder. These things, and others of the like nature, excited admiration in all that saw him.

Such was his conduct, when a vile and abandoned fellow loaded him a whole day with reproaches and abuse; he bore it with patience and silence, and continued in public for the despatch of some urgent affairs. In the evening he walked softly home, this impudent wretch following, and insulting him all the way with the most scurrilous language. And as it was dark when he came to his own door, he ordered one of his servants to take a torch and light the man home. The poet Ion, however, says he was proud and supercilious in conversation, and that there was a great deal of vanity and contempt of others, mixed with his dignity of manner: on the other hand, he highly extols the civility, complaisance, and politeness of Cimon. But to take no farther notice of Ion, who perhaps would not have any great excellence appear, without a mixture of something satiri-



cal, as it was in the ancient tragedy;\* Zeno desired those that called the gravity of Pericles pride and arrogance, to be proud the same way; telling them, the very acting of an excellent part might insensibly produce a love and real imitation of it.

These were not the only advantages which Pericles gained by conversing with Anaxagoras. From him he learned to overcome those terrors which the various phenomena of the heavens raise in those who know not their causes, and who entertain a tormenting fear of the gods by reason of that ignorance. Nor is there any cure for it but the study of nature, which, instead of the frightful extravagancies of superstition, implants in us a sober piety, supported by a rational hope.

We are told, there was brought to Pericles, from one of his farms, a ram's head with only one horn; and Lampo the soothsayer observing that the horn grew strong and firm out of the middle of the forehead, declared, that the two parties in the state, namely, those of Thucydides and Pericles, would unite, and invest the whole power in him with whom the prodigy was found; but Anaxagoras having dissected the head, showed that the brain did not fill the whole cavity, but had contracted itself into an oval form, and pointed directly to that part of the skull whence the horn took its rise. This procured Anaxagoras great honour with the spectators; and Lampo was no less honoured for his prediction, when, soon after, upon the fall of Thucydides, the

\* Tragedy at first was only a chorus in honour of Bacchus. Persons dressed like satyrs were the performers, and they often broke out into the most licentious raillery. Afterwards, when tragedy took a graver turn, something of the former drollery was still retained, as in that which we call tragi-comedy. In time, serious characters and events became the subject of tragedy, without that mixture; but even then, after exhibiting three or four serious tragedies, the poets used to conclude their contention for the prize, with a satirical one: of this sort is the Cyclops of Euripides, and the only one remaining.



administration was put entirely into the hands of Pericles.

But, in my opinion, the philosopher and the diviner may well enough be reconciled, and both be right; the one discovering the cause and the other the end. It was the business of the former to account for the appearance, and to consider how it came about; and of the latter, to show why it was so formed, and what it portended. Those who say, that when the cause is found out the prodigy ceases, do not consider, that if they reject such signs as are preternatural, they must also deny that artificial signs are of any use; the clattering of brass quoits,\* the light of beacons, and the shadow of a sun-dial, have all of them their proper natural causes, and yet each has another signification. But perhaps this question might be more properly discussed in another place.

Pericles, in his youth, stood in great fear of the people. For in his countenance he was like Pisis-tratus the tyrant; and he perceived the old men were much struck by a farther resemblance in the sweetness of his voice, the volubility of his tongue, and the roundness of his periods. As he was, moreover, of a noble family and opulent fortune, and his friends were the most considerable men in the state, he dreaded the ban of ostracism, and therefore intermeddled not with state affairs, but behaved with great courage and intrepidity in the field. However, when Aristides was dead, Themistocles banished, and Cimon much employed in expeditions at a distance from Greece, Pericles engaged in the administration. He chose rather to solicit the favour of the multitude and the poor,†

\* The clattering of brass quoits or plates was sometimes a military signal among the Grecians. Among the Romans it was a signal to call the wrestlers to the ring.

† The popular party in Athens were continually making efforts against those small remains of power which were yet in the hands of the nobility. As Pericles could not lead the party of the nobles,



than of the rich and the few, contrary to his natural disposition, which was far from inclining him to court popularity.

It seems he was apprehensive of falling under the suspicion of aiming at the supreme power, and was sensible, besides, that Cimon was attached to the nobility, and extremely beloved by persons of the highest eminence; and, therefore, in order to secure himself, and to find resources against the power of Cimon, he studied to ingratiate himself with the common people. At the same time, he entirely changed his manner of living. He appeared not in the streets, except when he went to the forum or the senate house. He declined the invitations of his friends, and all social entertainments and recreations; insomuch, that in the whole time of his administration, which was a considerable length, he never went to sup with any of his friends, but once, which was at the marriage of his nephew Euryp- tolemus, and he staid there only until the ceremony of libation was ended. He considered that the freedom of entertainments takes away all distinction of office, and that dignity is but little consistent with familiarity. Real and solid virtue, indeed, the more it is seen, the more glorious it appears; and there is nothing in a good man's conduct, as a magistrate, so great in the eye of the public, as is the general course of his behaviour in private to his most intimate

because Cimon, by the dignity of his birth, the lustre of his actions, and the largeness of his estate, had placed himself at their head, he had no other resource than to court the populace. And he flattered their favourite passion in the most agreeable manner, by lessening the power and privileges of the court of Areopagus, which was the chief support of the nobility, and indeed of the whole state. Thus the bringing of almost all causes before the tribunal of the people, the multiplying of gratuities, which were only another word for bribes, and the giving the people a taste for expensive pleasures, caused the downfall of the Athenian commonwealth; though the personal abilities of Pericles supported it during his time.



friends. Pericles, however, took care not to make his person cheap among the people, and appeared among them only at proper intervals: Nor did he speak to all points that were debated before them, but reserved himself, like the Salaminian galley,\* (as Critolaus says) for greater occasions; despatching business of less consequence by other orators with whom he had an intimacy. One of these, we are told, was Ephialtes, who, according to Plato, overthrew the power of the council of Areopagus, by giving the citizens a large and intemperate draught of liberty. On which account the comic writers speak of the people of Athens as of a horse wild and unmanaged,

——— which listens to the reins no more,  
But in his maddening course bears headlong down  
The very friends that feed him.

Pericles, desirous to make his language a proper vehicle for his sublime sentiments, and to speak in a manner that became the dignity of his life, availed himself greatly of what he had learned of Anaxagoras; adorning his eloquence with the rich colours of philosophy. For, adding, (as the divine Plato expresses it) the loftiness of imagination, and all commanding energy, with which philosophy supplied him, to his native powers of genius, and making use of whatever he found to his purpose, in the study of nature, to dignify the art of speaking, he far excelled all other orators.† Hence he is said to have gained the surname of *Olympius*; though some will have it to have been from the edifices with which he adorned the city; and others, from his high authority both in

\* The Salaminian galley was a consecrated vessel which the Athenians never made use of but on extraordinary occasions. They sent it, for instance, for a general whom they wanted to call to account, or with sacrifices to Apollo, or some other deity.

† Plato observes, on the same occasion, that an orator as well as a physician ought to have a general knowledge of nature.



peace and war. There appears, indeed, no absurdity in supposing that all these things might contribute to that glorious distinction. Yet the strokes of satire, both serious and ludicrous, in the comedies of those times, indicate that this title was given him chiefly on account of his eloquence. For they tell us that in his harangues he thundered and lightened, and that his tongue was armed with thunder. Thucydides, the son of Miliesius, is said to have given a pleasant account of the force of his eloquence. Thucydides was a great and respectable man, who for a long time opposed the measures of Pericles: And when Archidamus, one of the kings of Lacedæmon asked him, "Which was the best wrestler, Pericles, or he?" he answered, "When I throw him, he says he was never down, and he persuades the very spectators to believe so."

Yet such was the solicitude of Pericles when he had to speak in public, that he always first addressed a prayer to the gods,\* "That not a word might unawares escape him unsuitable to the occasion." He left nothing in writing, but some public decrees; and only a few of his sayings are recorded. He used to say (for instance) that "The isle of Ægina should not be suffered to remain an eye-sore to the Piræus:" and that "He saw a war approaching from Peloponnesus." And when Sophocles, who went in joint command with him upon an expedition at sea, happened to praise the beauty of a certain boy, he said, "A general, my friend, should not only have pure hands, but pure eyes." Stesimbrotus produces this passage from the oration which Pericles pronounced in memory of those Athenians who fell in the Samian war, "They are become immortal like the gods:

\* Quintilian says, he prayed, that not a word might escape him disagreeable to the people. And this is the more probable account of the matter, because (according to Suidas) Pericles wrote down his orations before he pronounced them in public; and, indeed, was the first who did so.



For the gods themselves are not visible to us; but from the honours they receive, and the happiness they enjoy, we conclude they are immortal; and such should those brave men be who die for their country."

Thucydides represents the administration of Pericles as favouring aristocracy, and tells us that, though the government was called democratical, it was really in the hands of one who had engrossed the whole authority. Many other writers likewise inform us, that by him the people were first indulged with a division of lands, were treated at the public expense with theatrical diversions, and were paid for the most common services to the state. As this new indulgence from the government was an impolitic custom, which rendered the people expensive and luxurious, and destroyed that frugality and love of labour which supported them before, it is proper that we should trace the effect to its cause, by a retrospect into the circumstances of the republic.

At first, as we have observed, to raise himself to some sort of equality with Cimon, who was then at the height of glory, Pericles made his court to the people. And as Cimon was his superior in point of fortune, which he employed in relieving the poor Athenians, in providing victuals every day for the necessitous, and clothing the aged; and, besides this, levelled his fences with the ground, that all might be at liberty to gather his fruit; Pericles had recourse to the expedient of dividing the public treasure; which scheme, as Aristotle informs us, was proposed to him by Demonides of Jos.\* Accordingly, by supplying the people with money for the public diversions, and for their attendance in courts of judi-

\* Jos was one of the isles called Sporades, in the Ægean sea, and celebrated for the tomb of Homer. But some learned men are of opinion that instead of *Ιηθερ*, we should read *Οιθηερ*, and that Demonides was not of the island of Jos, but of Oia, which was a borough in Attica.



cature,\* and by other pensions and gratuities, he so inveigled them as to avail himself of their interest against the council of the Areopagus, of which he had no right to be a member, having never had the fortune to be chosen *archon*, *thesmothetes*, *king of the sacred rites*, or *polemarch*. For persons were of old appointed to these offices by lot; and such as had discharged them well, and such only, were admitted as judges in the Areopagus. Pericles, therefore, by his popularity raised a party against that council, and, by means of Ephialtes, took from them the cognizance of many causes that had been under their jurisdiction. He likewise caused Cimon to be banished by the *Ostracism*, as an enemy to the people,† and a friend to the Lacedæmonians: a man who in birth and fortune had no superior, who had gained very glorious victories over the barbarians, and filled the city with money and other spoils, as we have related in his life. Such was the authority of Pericles with the common people.

The term of Cimon's banishment, as it was by *Ostracism*, was limited by law to ten years. Meantime, the Lacedæmonians with a great army entered the territory of Tanagra, and the Athenians immediately marching out against them, Cimon returned, and placed himself in the ranks with those of his tribe, intending by his deeds to wipe off the asper-

\* There were several courts of judicature in Athens, composed of a certain number of the citizens; who sometimes received one *obolus* each, for every cause they tried; and sometimes men who aimed at popularity procured this fee to be increased.

† His treason against the state was pretended to consist in receiving presents or other gratifications from the Macedonians, whereby he was prevailed on to let slip the opportunity he had to enlarge the Athenian conquests, after he had taken the gold mines of Thrace.—Cimon answered, that he had prosecuted the war to the utmost of his power against the Thracians and their other enemies; but that he had made no inroads into Macedonia, because he did not conceive that he was to act as a public enemy to mankind.



sion of favouring the Lacedæmonians, and to venture his life with his countrymen; but by a combination of the friends of Pericles he was repulsed as an exile. This seems to have been the cause that Pericles exerted himself in a particular manner in that battle, and exposed his person to the greatest dangers. All Cimon's friends, whom Pericles had accused as accomplices in his pretended crime, fell honourably that day together: And the Athenians, who were defeated upon their own borders, and expected a still sharper conflict in the summer, grievously repented of their treatment of Cimon, and longed for his return. Pericles, sensible of the people's inclinations, did not hesitate to gratify them, but himself proposed a decree for recalling Cimon; and, at his return, a peace was agreed upon through his mediation. For the Lacedæmonians had a particular regard for him, as well as aversion for Pericles and the other demagogues. But some authors write, that Pericles did not procure an order for Cimon's return, till they had entered into a private compact, by means of Cimon's sister Elpinice, that Cimon should have the command abroad, and with two hundred galleys lay waste the king of Persia's dominions, and Pericles have the direction of affairs at home. A story goes, that Elpinice before this, had softened the resentment of Pericles against Cimon, and procured her brother a milder sentence than that of death. Pericles was one of those appointed by the people to manage the impeachment; and when Elpinice addressed him as a suppliant, he smiled and said, "You are old, Elpinice; much too old to solicit in so weighty an affair." However, he rose up but once to speak, barely to acquit himself of his trust, and did not bear so hard upon Cimon as the rest of his accusers.\* Who then can give credit

\* Yet Cimon was fined fifty talents, or 9687*l.* 10*s.* sterling, and narrowly escaped a capital sentence, having only a majority of three votes to prevent it.



to Idomeneus, when he says, that Pericles caused the orator Ephialtes, his friend and assistant in the administration, to be assassinated, through jealousy and envy of his great character? I know not where he met with this calumny, which he vents with great bitterness against a man, not indeed, in all respects irreproachable, but who certainly had such a greatness of mind, and high sense of honour, as was incompatible with an action so savage and inhuman. The truth of the matter, according to Aristotle, is, that Ephialtes being grown formidable to the nobles, on account of his inflexible severity in prosecuting all that invaded the rights of the people, his enemies caused him to be taken off in a private and treacherous manner, by Aristodicus of Tanagra.

About the same time died Cimon, in the expedition to Cyprus. And the nobility perceiving that Pericles was now arrived at a height of authority which set him far above the other citizens, were desirous of having some person to oppose him, who might be capable of giving a check to his power, and of preventing his making himself absolute. For this purpose they set up Thucydides, of the ward of Alopece, a man of great prudence and brother-in-law to Cimon. He had not, indeed, Cimon's talents for war, but was superior to him in forensic and political abilities; and, by residing constantly in Athens, and opposing Pericles in the general assembly, he soon brought the government to an *equilibrium*. For he did not suffer persons of superior rank to be dispersed and confounded with the rest of the people, because in that case their dignity was obscured and lost; but collected them into a separate body, by which means their authority was enhanced, and sufficient weight thrown into their scale. There was, indeed, from the beginning, a kind of doubtful separation, which, like the flaws in a piece of iron, indicated that the aristocratical party and that of the commonalty were not perfectly one,



though they were not actually divided : but the ambition of Pericles and Thucydides, and the contest between them, had so extraordinary an effect upon the city, that it was quite broken in two, and one part was called the *people*, and the other the *nobility*. For this reason, Pericles, more than ever, gave the people the reins, and endeavoured to ingratiate himself with them, contriving to have always some show, or play, or feast, or procession in the city, and to amuse it with the politest pleasures.

As another means of employing their attention, he sent out sixty galleys every year, manned for eight months, with a considerable number of the citizens, who were both paid for their service, and improved themselves as mariners. He likewise sent a colony of a thousand men to the Chersonesus, five hundred to Naxos, two hundred and fifty to Andros, a thousand into the country of the Bisaltæ in Thrace, and others into Italy, who settled in Sybaris, and changed its name to Thurii. These things he did, to clear the city of an useless multitude, who were very troublesome when they had nothing to do ; to make provision for the most necessitous ; and to keep the allies of Athens in awe, by placing colonies like so many garrisons in their neighbourhood.

That which was the chief delight of the Athenians and the wonder of strangers, and which alone serves for a proof that the boasted power and opulence of ancient Greece is not an idle tale, was the magnificence of the temples and public edifices. Yet no part of the conduct of Pericles moved the spleen of his enemies more than this. In their accusations of him to the people, they insisted, "That he had brought the greatest disgrace upon the Athenians by removing the public treasures of Greece from Delos, and taking them into his own custody. That he had not left himself even the specious apology, of having caused the money to be brought to Athens for its greater security, and to keep it from being



seized by the barbarians: That Greece must needs consider it as the highest insult, and an act of open tyranny, when she saw the money she had been obliged to contribute towards the war, lavished by the Athenians in gilding their city, and ornamenting it with statues, and temples that cost a thousand talents,\* as a proud and vain woman decks herself out with jewels." Pericles answered this charge by observing, "That they were not obliged to give the allies any account of the sums they had received, since they had kept the barbarians at a distance, and effectually defended the allies, who had not furnished either horses, ships, or men, but only contributed money, which is no longer the property of the giver, but of the receiver, if he performs the conditions on which it is received. That as the state was provided with all the necessaries of war, its superfluous wealth should be laid out on such works as, when executed, would be eternal monuments of its glory, and which, during their execution, would diffuse an universal plenty; for as so many kinds of labour, and such a variety of instruments and materials were requisite to these undertakings, every art would be exerted, every hand employed, almost the whole city would be in pay, and be at the same time both adorned and supported by itself." Indeed, such as were of a proper age and strength, were wanted for the wars, and well rewarded for their services; and as for the mechanics and meaner sort of people, they went not without their share of the public money, nor yet had they it to support them in idleness. By the constructing of great edifices, which required many arts and a long time to finish them, they had equal pretensions to be considered out of the treasury (though they stirred not out of the city) with the mariners and soldiers, guards

\* The Parthenon, or temple of Minerva, is said to have cost a thousand talents.



and garrisons. For the different materials, such as stone, brass, ivory, gold, ebony, and cypress, furnished employment to carpenters, masons, brasiers, goldsmiths, painters, turners, and other artificers; the conveyance of them by sea employed merchants and sailors, and by land wheelwrights, waggoners, carriers, rope-makers, leather-cutters, paviors, and iron-founders: and every art had a number of the lower people ranged in proper subordination to execute it like soldiers under the command of a general. Thus by the exercise of these different trades, plenty was diffused among persons of every rank and condition. Thus works were raised of an astonishing magnitude, and inimitable beauty and perfection, every architect striving to surpass the magnificence of the design with the elegance of the execution; yet still the most wonderful circumstance was the expedition with which they were completed. Many edifices, each of which seems to have required the labour of several successive ages, were finished during the administration of one prosperous man.

It is said, that when Agatharcus the painter valued himself upon the celerity and ease with which he despatched his pieces; Zeuxis replied, "If I boast, it shall be of the slowness with which I finish mine." For ease and speed in the execution seldom give a work any lasting importance, or exquisite beauty; while, on the other hand, the time which is expended in labour, is recovered and repaid in the duration of the performance. Hence we have the more reason to wonder, that the structures raised by Pericles should be built in so short a time, and yet built for ages: for as each of them, as soon as finished, had the venerable air of antiquity; so, now they are old, they have the freshness of a modern building. A bloom is diffused over them, which preserves their aspect untarnished by time, as if they were animated with a spirit of perpetual youth and unfading elegance.



Phidias was appointed by Pericles superintendant of all the public edifices, though the Athenians had then other eminent architects and excellent workmen. The *Parthenon*, or temple of *Pallas*, whose dimensions had been a hundred feet square,\* was rebuilt by Callicrates and Ictinus. Corœbus began the temple of Initiation at Eleusis, but only lived to finish the lower rank of columns with their architraves. Metagenes, of the ward of Xypete, added the rest of the entablature, and the upper row of columns; and Xenocles of Cholargus built the dome on the top. The long wall, the building of which Socrates says he heard Pericles propose to the people, was undertaken by Callicrates. Cratinus ridicules this work as proceeding very slowly:

Stones upon stones the orator has pil'd  
With swelling words, but words will build no walls.

The *Odeum*, or music theatre, which was likewise built by the direction of Pericles, had within it many rows of seats and of pillars; the roof was of a conic figure, after the model (we are told) of the king of Persia's pavilion. Cratinus, therefore, rallies him again in his play called *Thrattæ*:

As Jove, an onion on his head he wears;  
As Pericles, a whole orchestra bears;  
Afraid of broils and banishment no more,  
He tunes the shell he trembled at before!

Pericles at this time exerted all his interest to have a decree made, appointing a prize for the best performer in music during the *Panathenæa*; and, as he was himself appointed judge and distributor of the prizes, he gave the contending artists directions in what manner to proceed, whether their performance

\* It was called *Hecatompedon*, because it had been originally a hundred feet square. And having been burned by the Persians, it was rebuilt by Pericles, and retained that name after it was greatly enlarged.



was vocal or on the flute or lyre. From that time the prizes in music were always contended for in the *odeum*.

The vestibule of the citadel was furnished in five years by Mnesicles the architect. A wonderful event that happened while the work was in hand, showed that the goddess was not averse to the work, but rather took it into her protection, and encouraged them to complete it. One of the best and most active of the workmen, missing his step, fell from the top to the bottom, and was bruised in such a manner that his life was despaired of by the physicians. Pericles was greatly concerned at this accident; but, in the midst of his affliction, the goddess appeared to him in a dream, and informed him of a remedy, which he applied, and thereby soon recovered the patient. In memory of this cure, he placed in the citadel, near the altar (which is said to have been there before) a brazen statue of the *Minerva of health*. The golden statue of the same goddess,\* was the workmanship of Phidias, and his name is inscribed upon the pedestal (as we have already observed.) Through the friendship of Pericles he had the direction of every thing, and all the artists received his orders. For this the one was envied, and the other slandered; and it was intimated that Phidias received into his house ladies for Pericles, who came thither under pretence of seeing his works. The comic poets, getting hold of this story, represented him as a perfect libertine. They accused him of an intrigue with the wife of

\* This statue was of gold and ivory. Pausanias has given us a description of it. The goddess was represented standing, clothed in a tunic that reached down to the foot. On her *ægis*, or breastplate, was Medusa's head in ivory, and *victory*. She held a spear in her hand; and at her feet lay a buckler, and a dragon, supposed to be Erichthonius. The sphynx was represented on the middle of her helmet, with a griffin on each side. This statue was thirty-nine feet high; the *victory* on the breastplate was about four cubits: and forty talents of gold were employed upon it.



Menippus, his friend and lieutenant in the army: and because Pyrilampes, another intimate acquaintance of his, had a collection of curious birds, and particularly of peacocks, it was supposed that he kept them only for presents for those women who granted favours to Pericles. But what wonder is it, if men of a satirical turn daily sacrifice the characters of the great to that malevolent Demon, the envy of the multitude: when Stesimbrotus of Thasos has dared to lodge against Pericles that horrid and groundless accusation of corrupting his son's wife? so difficult is it to come at truth in the walk of history; since, if the writers live after the events they relate, they can be but imperfectly informed of facts, and if they describe the persons and transactions of their own times, they are tempted by envy and hatred, or by interest and friendship, to vitiate and pervert the truth.

The orators of Thucydides's party raised a clamour against Pericles, asserting, that he wasted the public treasure and brought the revenue to nothing. Pericles in his defence asked the people in full assembly, "Whether they thought he had expended too much?" upon their answering in the affirmative, "Then be it," said he, "charged to my account,\* not yours: only let the new edifices be inscribed with my name, not that of the people of Athens."

\* It appears from a passage in Thucydides, that the public stock of the Athenians amounted to nine thousand seven hundred talents (or one million eight hundred seventy-five thousand nine hundred and fifty pounds sterling,) of which, Pericles had laid out in those public buildings three thousand seven hundred talents. It is natural, therefore, to ask, how he could tell the people that it should be at his own expense, especially since Plutarch tells us in the sequel, that he had not in the least improved the estate left him by his father? To which the true answer probably is, that Pericles was politician enough to know that the vanity of the Athenians would never let them agree that he should inscribe the new magnificent buildings with his name, in exclusion of theirs; or he might venture to say any thing, being secure of a majority of votes to be given as he pleased.



Whether it was that they admired the greatness of his spirit, or were ambitious to share the glory of such magnificent works, they cried out, "That he might spend as much as he pleased of the public treasure, without sparing it in the least."

At last the contest came on between him and Thucydides, which of them should be banished by the *ostracism*: Pericles gained the victory, banished his adversary, and entirely defeated his party. The opposition now being at an end, and unanimity taking place amongst all ranks of people, Pericles became sole master of Athens, and its dependencies. The revenues, the army, and navy; the islands and the sea; a most extensive territory, peopled by barbarians as well as Greeks, fortified with the obedience of subject nations, the friendship of kings and alliance of princes, were all at his command.

From this time he became a different man; he was no longer so obsequious to the humour of the populace, which is as wild and as changeable as the winds. The multitude were not indulged or courted; the government in fact was not popular; its loose and luxuriant harmony was confined to stricter measures, and it assumed an aristocratical or rather monarchical form. He kept the public good in his eye, and pursued the straight path of honour. For the most part gently leading them by argument to a sense of what was right, and sometimes forcing them to comply with what was for their own advantage; in this respect imitating a good physician, who in the various symptoms of a long disease, sometimes administers medicines tolerably agreeable, and, at other times, sharp and strong ones, when such alone are capable of restoring the patient. He was the man that had the art of controlling those many disorderly passions which necessarily spring up amongst a people possessed of so extensive a dominion. The two engines he worked with were hope and fear; with these, repressing their violence when



they were too impetuous, and supporting their spirits when inclined to langour, he made it appear that *rhetoric is* (as Plato defined it) *the art of ruling the minds of men*, and that its principal province consists in moving the passions and affections of the soul, which like so many strings in a musical instrument, require the touch of a masterly and delicate hand. Nor were the powers of eloquence alone sufficient, but (as Thucydides observes) the orator was a man of probity and unblemished reputation. Money could not bribe him; he was so much above the desire of it, that though he added greatly to the opulence of the state, which he found not inconsiderable, and though his power exceeded that of many kings and tyrants, some of whom have bequeathed to their posterity the sovereignty they had obtained, yet he added not one *drachma* to his paternal estate.

Thucydides, indeed, gives this candid account of the power and authority of Pericles, but the comic writers abuse him in a most malignant manner, giving his friends the name of the *new pisistratidæ*, and calling upon him to swear that he would never attempt to make himself absolute, since his authority was already much too great and overbearing in a free state. Teleclides says, the Athenians had given up to him

The tribute of the states, the states themselves,  
To bind, to loose; to build and to destroy;  
In peace, in war, to govern; nay, to rule  
Their very fate, like some superior being.

And this not only for a time, or during the prime and flower of a short administration; but for forty years together he held the pre-eminence, amidst such men as Ephialtes, Leocrates, Myronides, Cimon, Tolmides, and Thucydides; and continued it no less than fifteen years after the fall and banishment of the latter. The power of the magistrates, which to them was but annual, all centred in him, yet still



he kept himself untainted by avarice. Not that he was inattentive to his finances ; but on the contrary, neither negligent of his paternal estate, nor yet willing to have much trouble with it ; as he had not much time to spare, he brought the management of it into such a method as was very easy, at the same time that it was exact. For he used to turn a whole year's produce into money altogether, and with this he bought from day to day all manner of necessaries at the market. This way of living was not agreeable to his sons when grown up, and the allowance he made the women did not appear to them a generous one : they complained of a pittance daily measured out with scrupulous economy, which admitted of none of those superfluities so common in great houses and wealthy families, and could not bear to think of the expenses being so nicely adjusted to the income.

The person who managed these concerns with so much exactness was a servant of his named Evangelus, either remarkably fitted for the purpose by nature, or formed to it by Pericles. Anaxagoras, indeed, considered these lower attentions as inconsistent with his wisdom. Following the dictates of enthusiasm, and wrapt up in sublime inquiries, he quitted his house, and left his lands untilled and desolate. But, in my opinion, there is an essential difference between a speculative and a practical philosopher. The former advances his ideas into the regions of science without the assistance of any thing corporeal or external ; the latter endeavours to apply his great qualities to the use of mankind, and riches afford him not only necessary but excellent assistance. Thus it was with Pericles, who by his wealth was enabled to relieve numbers of the poor citizens. Nay, for want of such prudential regards, this very Anaxagoras, we are told, lay neglected and unprovided for, insomuch that the poor old man had covered up his head and was going to starve him-



self.\* But an account of it being brought to Pericles, he was extremely moved at it, ran immediately to him, expostulated, entreated; bewailing not so much the fate of his friend as his own, if his administration should lose so valuable a counsellor. Anaxagoras, uncovering his face, replied, "Ah, Pericles! those that have need of a lamp, take care to supply it with oil."

By this time the Lacedæmonians began to express some jealousy of the Athenian greatness, and Pericles willing to advance it still higher, and to make the people more sensible of their importance and more inclinable to great attempts, procured an order, that all the Greeks, wheresoever they resided, whether in Europe or in Asia, whether their cities were small or great, should send deputies to Athens to consult about rebuilding the Grecian temples which the barbarians had burned, and about providing those sacrifices which had been vowed during the Persian war, for the preservation of Greece; and likewise to enter into such measures as might secure navigation and maintain the peace.

Accordingly twenty persons, each upwards of fifty years of age, were sent with this proposal to the different states of Greece. Five went to the Ionians and Dorians in Asia, and the islanders as far as Lesbos, and Rhodes; five to the cities about the Hellespont and in Thrace, as far as Byzantium; five to the inhabitants of Bœotia, Phocis, and Peloponnesus, and from thence, by Locri along the adjoining continent, to Acarnania and Ambracia. The rest were despatched through Eubœa to the Greeks that dwelt upon Mount Oetra and near the Maliac Bay, to the Phithiotæ, the Achæans† and Thessa-

\* It was customary among the ancients for a person who was determined to put an end to his life to cover up his head; whether he devoted himself to death for the service of his country, or, being weary of his being, bade the world adieu.

† By *Achæans* we are sometimes to understand the Greeks in



lians, inviting them to join in the council and new confederacy for the preservation of the peace of Greece. It took no effect however, nor did the cities send their deputies: the reason of which is said to be the opposition of the Lacedæmonians,\* for the proposal was first rejected in Peloponnesus. But I was willing to give account of it as a specimen of the greatness of the orator's spirit, and of his disposition to form magnificent designs.

His chief merit in war was the safety of his measures. He never willingly engaged in any uncertain or very dangerous expedition, nor had any ambition to imitate those generals who are admired as great men, because their rash enterprises have been attended with success; he always told the Athenians, "That as far as their fate depended upon him, they should be immortal." Perceiving that Tolmides, the son of Tolmæus, in confidence of his former success and military reputation, was preparing to invade Bœotia at an unseasonable time, and that over and above the regular troops, he had persuaded the bravest and most spirited of the Athenian youth, to the number of a thousand, to go volunteers in that expedition, he addressed him in public and tried to divert him from it, making use, among the rest, of those well known words, "If you regard not the opinion of Pericles, yet wait at least for the advice of time, who is the best of all counsellors." This saying, for the present, gained no great applause: but when, a few days after, news was brought, that Tolmides was defeated and killed at

general, especially in the writings of the poets; and sometimes the inhabitants of a particular district in Peloponnesus: but neither of these can be the meaning in this place. We must here understand a people of Thessaly, called *Achæans*.

\* It is no wonder that the Lacedæmonians opposed this undertaking, since the giving way to it would have been acknowledging the Athenians as masters of all Greece. Indeed, the Athenians should not have attempted it, without an order or decree of the Amphictyons.



Coronea,\* together with many of the bravest citizens, it procured Pericles great respect and love from the people, who considered it as a proof, not only of his sagacity, but of his affection for his countrymen.

Of his military expeditions, that to the Chersonesus procured him most honour, because it proved very salutary to the Greeks who dwelt there. For he not only strengthened their cities with the addition of a thousand able-bodied Athenians, but raised fortifications across the Isthmus from sea to sea; thus guarding against the incursions of the Thracians who were spread about the Chersonesus, and putting an end to those long and grievous wars under which that district had smarted, by reason of the neighbourhood of the barbarians, as well as to the robberies with which it had been infested by persons who lived upon the borders, or were inhabitants of the country. But the expedition most celebrated among strangers, was that by sea around Peloponnesus. He set sail from Pegæ in the territories of Megara with an hundred ships of war, and not only ravaged the maritime cities, as Tolmides had done before him, but landed his forces and penetrated a good way up the country. The terror of his arms drove the inhabitants into their walled towns, all but the Sicyonians, who made head against him at Memea, and were defeated in a pitched battle; in memory of which victory he erected a trophy. From Achaia, a confederate state, he took a number of men into his galleys, and sailed to the opposite side of the continent; then passing by the mouth of the Achelous, he made a descent in Acarnania, shut up the Oeneadæ within their walls, and having laid waste the country, returned home. In the whole course of this

\* This defeat happened in the second year of the eighty-third olympiad, four hundred and forty-five years before the Christian æra, and more than twenty years before the death of Pericles.



affair, he appeared terrible to his enemies, and to his countrymen an active and prudent commander; for no miscarriage was committed, nor did even any unfortunate accident happen during the whole time.

Having sailed to Pontus with a large and well equipped fleet, he procured the Grecian cities there all the advantages they desired, and treated them with great regard. To the barbarous nations that surrounded them, and to their kings and princes, he made the power of Athens very respectable, by showing with what security her fleets could sail, and that she was in effect mistress of the seas. He left the people of Sinope thirteen ships under the command of Lamachus, and a body of men to act against Timesileos their tyrant. And when the tyrant and his party were driven out, he caused a decree to be made, that a colony of six hundred Athenian volunteers should be placed in Sinope, and put in possession of those houses and lands which had belonged to the tyrants.

He did not, however, give way to the wild desires of the citizens, nor would he indulge them, when, elated with their strength and good fortune, they talked of recovering Egypt,\* and of attempting the coast of Persia. Many were likewise at this time possessed with the unfortunate passion for Sicily, which the orators of Alcibiades's party afterwards inflamed still more. Nay, some even dreamed of Hetruria† and Carthage, and not without some

\* For the Athenians had been masters of Egypt, as we find in the second book of Thucydides. They were driven out of it by Megabyzus, Artaxerxes's lieutenant, in the first year of the eightieth olympiad, and it was only in the last year of the eighty-first olympiad that Pericles made that successful expedition about Peloponnesus; therefore it is not strange that the Athenians, now in the height of prosperity, talked of recovering their footing in a country which they had so lately lost.

† Hetruria seems oddly joined with Carthage; but we may consider that Hetruria was on one side of Sicily, and Carthage on



ground of hope, as they imagined, because of the great extent of their dominions, and the successful course of their affairs.

But Pericles restrained this impetuosity of the citizens, and curbed their extravagant desire of conquest; employing the greatest part of their forces in strengthening and securing their present acquisitions, and considering it as a matter of consequence to keep the Lacedæmonians within bounds; whom he therefore opposed, as on other occasions, so particularly in the sacred war. For when the Lacedæmonians, by dint of arms, had restored the temple to the citizens of Delphi, which had been seized by the Phocians, Pericles, immediately after the departure of the Lacedæmonians, marched thither, and put it into the hands of the Phocians again. And as the Lacedæmonians had engraved on the forehead of the brazen wolf the privilege which the people of Delphi had granted them of consulting the oracle first,\* Pericles caused the same privilege for the Athenians, to be inscribed on the wolf's right side.

The event showed, that he was right in confining the Athenian forces to act within the bounds of Greece. For, in the first place, the Eubœans revolted, and he led an army against them. Soon after, news was brought that Megara had commenced hostilities, and that the Lacedæmonian forces, under the command of king Plistonax, were upon the borders of Attica. The enemy offered

the other. The Athenians, therefore, after they had devoured Sicily in their thoughts, might think of extending their conquests to the countries on the right and left; in the same manner as king Pyrrhus indulged his wild ambition to subdue Sicily, Italy, and Africa.

\* This wolf is said to have been consecrated and placed by the side of the great altar, on occasion of a wolf's killing a thief who had robbed the temple, and leading the Delphians to the place where the treasure lay.



him battle; he did not choose, however, to risk an engagement with so numerous and resolute an army. But as Plistonax was very young, and chiefly directed by Cleandrides, a counsellor whom the *Ephori* had appointed him on account of his tender age, he attempted to bribe that counsellor, and succeeding in it to his wish, persuaded him to draw off the Peloponnesians from Attica. The soldiers dispersing and retiring to their respective homes, the Lacedæmonians were so highly incensed, that they laid a heavy fine upon the king, and as he was not able to pay it, he withdrew from Lacedæmon. As for Cleandrides, who fled from justice, they condemned him to death. He was the father of Gylippus, who defeated the Athenians in Sicily, and who seemed to have derived the vice of avarice from him as an hereditary distemper. He was led by it into bad practices, for which he was banished with ignominy from Sparta, as we have related in the life of Lysander.

In the accounts for this campaign, Pericles put down ten talents laid out *for a necessary use*, and the people allowed it, without examining the matter closely, or prying into the secret. According to some writers, and among the rest Theophrastus the philosopher, Pericles sent ten talents every year to Sparta, with which he gained all the magistracy, and kept them from acts of hostility; not that he purchased peace with the money, but only gained time, that he might have leisure to make preparations to carry on the war afterwards with advantage.

Immediately after the retreat of the Lacedæmonians, he turned his arms against the revolters, and passing over into Eubœa with fifty ships and five thousand men, he reduced the cities. He expelled the *Hippobotæ*, persons distinguished by their opulence and authority among the Chalcidians; and having exterminated all the Hestiæans, he gave their



city to a colony of Athenians. The cause of this severity was their having taken an Athenian ship, and murdered the whole crew.

Soon after this, the Athenians and Lacedæmonians having agreed upon a truce for thirty years, Pericles caused a decree to be made for an expedition against Samos. The pretence he made use of was, that the Samians, when commanded to put an end to the war with the Milesians, had refused it. But as he seems to have entered upon this war merely to gratify Aspasia, it may not be amiss to inquire by what art or power she captivated the greatest statesmen, and brought even philosophers to speak of her so much to her advantage.

It is agreed that she was by birth a Milesian,\* and the daughter of Axiochus. She is reported to have trod in the steps of Thargelia,† who was descended from the ancient Ionians, and to have reserved her intimacies for the great. This Thargelia, who to the charms of her person added a peculiar politeness and poignant wit, had many lovers among the Greeks, and drew over to the king of Persia's interest all that approached her; by whose means, as they were persons of eminence and authority, she sowed the seeds of the Median faction among the Grecian states.

Some, indeed, say, that Pericles made his court to Aspasia only on account of her wisdom and political abilities. Nay, even Socrates himself sometimes visited her along with his friends; and her acquaintance took their wives with them to hear her discourse, though the business that supported her was neither honourable nor decent, for she kept a number of courtezans in her house. Æschines in-

\* Miletum, a city in Ionia, was famous for producing persons of extraordinary abilities.

† This Thargelia, by her beauty, obtained the sovereignty of Thessaly. However, she came to an untimely end; for she was murdered by one of her lovers.



forms us that Lysicles, who was a grazier,\* and of a mean ungenerous disposition, by his intercourse with Aspasia after the death of Pericles, became the most considerable man in Athens. And though Plato's Menexenus in the beginning is rather humorous than serious, yet thus much of history we may gather from it, that many Athenians resorted to her on account of her skill in the art of speaking.†

I should not, however, think that the attachment of Pericles was of so very delicate a kind. For, though his wife, who was his relation, and had been first married to Hipponicus, by whom she had Calias the rich, brought him two sons, Xanthippus and Paralus, yet they lived so ill together that they parted by consent. She was married to another, and he took Aspasia, for whom he had the tenderest regard; insomuch that he never went out upon business, or returned, without saluting her. In the comedies she is called the *New Omphale*, *Deianira*, and *Juno*. Cratinus plainly calls her a prostitute,

— She bore this *Juno*, this *Aspasia*,  
Skill'd in the shameless trade and every art  
Of wantonness.

He seems also to have had a natural son by her; for he is introduced by Eupolis inquiring after him thus,

— Still lives the offspring of my dalliance?

\* What the employments were to which this Lysicles was advanced, is no where recorded.

† It is not to be imagined, that Aspasia excelled in light and amorous discourses. Her discourses, on the contrary, were not more brilliant than solid. It was even believed by the most intelligent Athenians, and amongst them by Socrates himself, that she composed the celebrated funeral oration pronounced by Pericles, in honour of those that were slain in the Samian war. It is probable enough, that Pericles undertook that war to avenge the quarrel of the Milesians, at the suggestion of Aspasia, who was of Miletum; who is said to have accompanied him in that expedition, and to have built a temple to perpetuate the memory of his victory.



Pyronides answers,

He lives, and might have borne the name of husband,  
Did he not dream that every bosom fair,  
Is not a chaste one.

Such was the fame of Aspasia, that Cyrus, who contended with Artaxerxes for the Persian crown, gave the name of Aspasia to his favourite concubine, who before was called *Milto*. This woman was born in *Phocis*, and was the daughter of Hermotimus. When Cyrus was slain in the battle, she was carried to the king, and had afterwards great influence over him. These particulars occurring to my memory as I wrote this life, I thought it would be a needless affectation of gravity, if not an offence against politeness, to pass them over in silence.

I now return to the Samian war, which Pericles is much blamed for having promoted, in favour of the Milesians, at the instigation of Aspasia. The Milesians and Samians had been at war for the city of Priene, and the Samians had the advantage, when the Athenians interposed, and ordered them to lay down their arms, and refer the decision of the dispute to them: but the Samians refused to comply with this demand. Pericles, therefore, sailed with a fleet to Samos, and abolished the oligarchical form of government. He then took fifty of the principal men, and the same number of children, as hostages, and sent them to Lemnos. Each of these hostages, we are told, offered him a talent for his ransom; and those that were desirous to prevent the settling of a democracy among them would have given him much more.\* Pissuthnes the Persian, who had the interest of the Samians at heart, likewise sent him ten thousand pieces of gold, to prevail upon him to grant them more favourable terms. Pericles, however,

\* Pissuthnes, the son of Hystaspes, was governor of Sardis, and espoused the cause of the Samians of course, because the principal persons among them were in the Persian interest.



would receive none of their presents, but treated the Samians in the manner he had resolved on; and having established a popular government in the island, he returned to Athens.

But they soon revolted again, having recovered their hostages by some private measure of Pissuthnes, and made new preparations for war. Pericles coming with a fleet to reduce them once more, found them not in a posture of negligence or despair, but determined to contend with him for the dominion of the sea. A sharp engagement ensued near the isle of Tragia, and Pericles gained a glorious victory, having with forty-four ships defeated seventy, twenty of which had soldiers on-board.

Pursuing his victory, he possessed himself of the harbour of Samos, and laid siege to the city. They still retained courage enough to sally out and give him battle before the walls. Soon after a greater fleet came from Athens, and the Samians were entirely shut up: whereupon, Pericles took sixty galleys, and steered for the Mediterranean, with a design, as is generally supposed, to meet the Phœnician fleet that was coming to the relief of Samos, and to engage with it at a great distance from the island.

Stesimbrotus, indeed, says, he intended to sail for Cyprus, which is very improbable. But whatever his design was, he seems to have committed an error. For, as soon as he was gone, Melissus, the son of Ithagene, a man distinguished as a philosopher, and at that time commander of the Samians, despising either the small number of ships that was left, or else the inexperience of their officers, persuaded his countrymen to attack the Athenians. Accordingly, a battle was fought, and the Samians obtained the victory; for they made many prisoners, destroyed the greatest part of the enemy's fleet, cleared the seas, and imported whatever warlike stores and provisions they wanted. Aristotle writes, that Pericles himself had been beaten by the same Melissus, in a former sea-fight.



The Samians returned upon the Athenian prisoners the insult they had received, marked their foreheads with the figure of an owl, as the Athenians had branded them with a *Samæna*, which is a kind of ship built low in the forepart, and wide and hollow in the sides. This form makes it light and expeditious in sailing; and it was called *Samæna*, from its being invented in Samos by Polycrates the tyrant. Aristophanes is supposed to have hinted at these marks, when he says,

The Samians are a lettered race.

As soon as Pericles was informed of the misfortune that had befallen his army, he immediately returned with succours,\* gave Melissus battle, routed the enemy, and blocked up the town by building a wall about it; choosing to owe the conquest of it rather to time and expense, than to purchase it with the blood of his fellow-citizens. But when he found the Athenians murmured at the time spent in the blockade, and that it was difficult to restrain them from the assault, he divided the army into eight parts, and ordered them to draw lots. That division which drew a white bean, were to enjoy themselves in ease and pleasure while the others fought. Hence it is said, that those who spend the day in feasting and merriment, call that a *white day* from the *white bean*.

Ephorus adds, that Pericles in this siege made use of battering engines, the invention of which he much admired, it being then a new one; and that he had *Artemon* the engineer along with him, who, on account of his lameness, was carried about in a litter, when his presence was required to direct the machines, and thence had the surname of *Periphoretus*. But Heraclides of Pontus confutes this as-

\* On his return, he received a reinforcement of fourscore ships, as Thucydides tells us; or ninety, according to Diodorus.



sertion by some verses of Anacreon, in which mention is made of Artemon Periphoretus several ages before the Samian war and these transactions of Pericles. And he tells us, this Artemon was a person who gave himself up to luxury, and was withal of a timid and effeminate spirit; that he spent most of his time within doors, and had a shield of brass held over his head by a couple of slaves, lest something should fall upon him. Moreover, that if he happened to be necessarily obliged to go abroad, he was carried in a litter, which hung so low as almost to touch the ground, and therefore was called *Periphoretus*.

After nine months the Samians surrendered. Pericles razed their walls, seized their ships, and laid a heavy fine upon them; part of which they paid down directly, the rest they promised at a set time, and gave hostages for the payment. Duris the Samian makes a melancholy tale of it, accusing Pericles and the Athenians of great cruelty, of which no mention is made by Thucydides, Ephorus, or Aristotle. What he relates concerning the Samian officers and seamen seems quite fictitious: he tells us, that Pericles caused them to be brought into the marketplace at Miletus, and to be bound to posts there for ten days together, at the end of which he ordered them, by that time in the most wretched condition, to be despatched with clubs, and refused their bodies the honour of burial. Duris, indeed, in his Histories, often goes beyond the limits of truth, even when not misled by any interest or passion; and therefore is more likely to have exaggerated the sufferings of his country, to make the Athenians appear in an odious light.\*

Pericles, at his return to Athens, after the reduc-

\* Yet Cicero tells us, this Duris was a careful historian, *Homo in historia diligens*. This historian lived in the times of Ptolemy Philadelphus.



tion of Samos, celebrated in a splendid manner the obsequies of his countrymen who fell in that war, and pronounced himself the funeral oration usual on such occasions. This gained him great applause; and, when he came down from the rostrum, the women paid their respects to him, and presented him with crowns and chaplets, like a champion just returned victorious from the lists. Only Elpinice addressed him in terms quite different: "Are these actions, then, Pericles, worthy of crowns and garlands, which have deprived us of many brave citizens; not in a war with the Phœnicians and Medes, such as my brother Cimon waged, but in destroying a city united to us both in blood and friendship?" Pericles only smiled, and answered softly with this line of Archilochus,

Why lavish ointments on a head that's gray?

Ion informs us, that he was highly elated with this conquest, and scrupled not to say, "That Agamemnon spent ten years in reducing one of the cities of the barbarians, whereas he had taken the richest and most powerful city among the Ionians in nine months." And indeed he had reason to be proud of this achievement; for the war was really a dangerous one, and the event uncertain; since, according to Thucydides, such was the power of the Samians, that the Athenians were in imminent danger of losing the dominion of the sea.

Some time after this, when the Peloponnesian war was ready to break out, Pericles persuaded the people to send succours to the inhabitants of Corcyra, who were at war with the Corinthians;\* which would be a means to fix in their interest an island whose naval forces were considerable, and might be of great service in case of a rupture with the Peloponnesians, which they had all the reason in the world to expect

\* This war was commenced about the little territory of Epidamnus, a city in Macedonia, founded by the Corcyrians.



would be soon. The succours were decreed accordingly, and Pericles sent Lacedæmonius to the son of Cimon with ten ships only, as if he designed nothing more than to disgrace him.\* A mutual regard and friendship subsisted between Cimon's family and the Spartans; and he now furnished his son with but a few ships, and gave him the charge of this affair against his inclination, in order that, if nothing great or striking were effected, Lacedæmonius might be still the more suspected of favouring the Spartans. Nay, by all imaginable methods he endeavoured to hinder the advancement of that family, representing the sons of Cimon, as by their very names not genuine Athenians, but strangers and aliens, one of them being called Lacedæmonius, another Thessalus, and a third Eleus. They seem to have been all the sons of an Arcadian woman. Pericles, however, finding himself greatly blamed about these ten galleys, an aid by no means sufficient to answer the purpose of those that requested it, but likely enough to afford his enemies a pretence to accuse him, sent another squadron to Corcyra,† which did not arrive till the action was over.

The Corinthians, offended at this treatment, complained of it at Lacedæmon; and the Megarensians at the same time alleged, that the Athenians would not suffer them to come to any mart or port of theirs, but drove them out, thereby infringing the common privileges, and breaking the oath they had taken before the general assembly of Greece. The people of Ægina, too, privately acquainted the Lacedæmonians with many encroachments and injuries done them by the Athenians, whom they durst not accuse openly. And at this very juncture, Potidæa, a Corinthian co-

\* There seems to be very little colour for this hard assertion. Thucydides says, that the Athenians did not intend the Corcyrians any real assistance, but sent this small squadron to look on, while the Corinthians and Corcyrians weakened and wasted each other.

† But this fleet, which consisted of twenty ships, prevented a second engagement, for which they were preparing.



lony, but subject to the Athenians, being besieged in consequence of its revolt, hastened on the war.

However, as ambassadors were sent to Athens, and as Archidamus, king of the Lacedæmonians, endeavoured to give a healing turn to most of the articles in question, and to pacify the allies, probably no other point would have involved the Athenians in war, if they could have been persuaded to rescind the decree against the Megarentians, and to be reconciled to them. Pericles, therefore, in exerting all his interest to oppose this measure, in retaining his enmity to the Megarensians, and working up the people to the same rancour, was the sole author of the war.

It is said, that when the ambassadors from Lacedæmon came upon this occasion to Athens,\* Pericles pretended there was a law which forbade the taking down any tablet on which a decree of the people was written. "Then," said Polyarces, one of the ambassadors, "do not take it down, but turn the other side outward; there is no law against that." Notwithstanding the pleasantry of this answer, Pericles re-

\* The Lacedæmonian ambassadors demanded, in the first place, the expulsion of those Athenians who were styled execrable, on account of the old business of Cylon and his associates, because by his mother's side Pericles was allied to the family of Megocles; they next insisted that the siege of Potidæa should be raised; thirdly, that the inhabitants of Ægina should be left free; and lastly, that the decree made against the Megarentians, whereby they were forbid the ports and markets of Athens on pain of death, should be revoked, and the Grecian states set at liberty, who were under the dominion of Athens.

Pericles represented to the Athenians, that, whatever the Lacedæmonians might pretend, the true ground of their resentment was the prosperity of the Athenian republic: that, nevertheless, it might be proposed, that the Athenians would reverse their decree against Megara, if the Lacedæmonians would allow free egress and regress in their city to the Athenians and their allies; that they would leave all those states free, who were free at the making of the last peace with Sparta, provided the Spartans would also leave all states free who were under their dominion; and that future disputes should be submitted to arbitration. In case these offers should not prevail, he advised them to hazard a war.



lented not in the least. He seems, indeed, to have had some private pique against the Megarensians, though the pretext he availed himself of in public was, that they had applied to profane uses certain parcels of sacred ground ; and thereupon he procured a decree for an herald to be sent to Megara and Lacedæmon to lay this charge against the Megarensians. This decree was drawn up in a candid and conciliating manner. But Anthemocritus, the herald sent with that commission, losing his life by the way, through some treachery (as was supposed,) of the Megarensians, Charinus procured a decree, that an implacable and an eternal enmity should subsist between the Athenians and them ; that if any Megarensian should set foot on Attic ground, he should be put to death ; that to the oath which their generals used to take, this particular should be added, that they would twice a-year make an inroad into the territories of Megara ; and that Anthemocritus should be buried at the Thriasian gate, now called *Dipylus*.

The Megarensians, however, deny their being concerned in the murder of Anthemocritus,\* and lay the war entirely at the door of Aspasia and Pericles ; alleging in proof those well-known verses from the *Acharnensis* of Aristophanes :

The god of wine had with his *Thyrsus* smote  
Some youths, who in their madness stole from Megara  
The prostitute *Simætha* : in revenge  
Two females, liberal of their smiles, were stolen  
From our *Aspasia's* train.

It is not, indeed, easy to discover what was the real origin of the war : but at the same time all agree, it was the fault of Pericles that the decree against Megara was not annulled. Some say, his firmness in that case was the effect of his prudence

\* Thucydides takes no notice of this herald ; and yet it is so certain that the Megarensians were looked upon as the authors of the murder, that they were punished for it many ages after : for on that account the Emperor Adrian denied them many favours and privileges which he granted to the other cities of Greece.



and magnanimity, as he considered that demand only as a trial, and thought the least concession would be understood as an acknowledgment of weakness: but others will have it, that his treating the Lacedæmonians with so little ceremony, was owing to his obstinacy, and an ambition to display his power.

But the worst cause of all\* assigned for the war, and which, notwithstanding, is confirmed by most historians, is as follows: Phidias the statuary had undertaken (as we have said) the statue of Minerva. The friendship and influence he had with Pericles exposed him to envy, and procured him many enemies, who willing to make an experiment upon him, what judgment the people might pass on Pericles himself, persuaded Menon, one of Phidias's workmen, to place himself as a suppliant in the *forum*, and to entreat the protection of the republic while he lodged an information against Phidias.

The people granting his request, and the affair coming to a public trial, the allegation of theft, which Menon brought against him, was shown to be groundless. For Phidias, by the advice of Pericles, had managed the matter from the first with so much art, that the gold with which the statue was overlaid could easily be taken off and weighed: and Pericles ordered this to be done by the accusers. But the excellence of his work, and the envy arising thence, was the thing that ruined Phidias; and it was particularly insisted upon, that in his representation of the battle with the Amazons upon Minerva's shield, he had introduced his own effigies as a bald old man taking up a great stone with both hands,† and a high-finished picture of Pericles fight-

\* Pericles, when he saw his friends prosecuted, was apprehensive of a prosecution himself, and therefore hastened on a rupture with the Peloponnesians, to turn the attention of the people to war.

† They insisted that those modern figures impeached the credit



ing with an Amazon. The last was contrived with so much art, that the hand, which, in lifting up the spear, partly covered the face, seemed to be intended to conceal the likeness, which yet was very striking on both sides. Phidias, therefore, was thrown into prison, where he died a natural death;\* though some say, poison was given him by his enemies, who were desirous of causing Pericles to be suspected. As for the accuser Menon, he had an immunity from taxes granted him, at the motion of Glycon, and the generals were ordered to provide for his security.

About this time Aspasia was prosecuted for impiety, by Hermippus a comic poet, who likewise accused her of receiving into her house women above the condition of slaves for the pleasure of Pericles. And Diopithes procured a decree, that those who disputed the existence of the gods, or introduced new opinions about celestial appearances, should be tried before an assembly of the people. This charge was levelled first at Anaxagoras, and through him at Pericles. And as the people admitted it, another decree was proposed by Dracontides, that Pericles should give an account of the public money before the *Prytanes*, and that the judges should take the ballots from the altar,† and try the cause in the city. But Agnon caused the last article to be dropped,

of the ancient history, which did so much honour to Athens, and their founder Theseus.

\* Others say, that he was banished, and that in his exile he made the famous statue of Jupiter at Olympia.

† In some extraordinary cases where the judges were to proceed with the greatest exactness and solemnity, they were to take ballots or billets from the altar, and to inscribe their judgment upon them; or rather to take the black and the white bean. What Plutarch means by *trying the cause in the city*, is not easy to determine, unless by the *city* we are to understand *the full assembly of the people*. By the fifteen hundred judges mentioned in the next sentence, is probably meant the court of *Helicæa*, so called because the judges sat in the open air exposed to the sun; for this court on extraordinary occasions consisted of that number.



and instead thereof, it was voted that the action should be laid before the fifteen hundred judges, either for *peculation*, and *taking of bribes*, or simply for *corrupt practices*.

Aspasia was acquitted, though much against the tenor of the law, by means of Pericles, who (according to Æschines) shed many tears in his application for mercy for her. He did not expect the same indulgence for Anaxagoras,\* and therefore caused him to quit the city, and conducted him part of the way. And as he himself was become obnoxious to the people upon Phidias's account, and was afraid of being called in question for it, he urged on the war, which as yet was uncertain, and blew up that flame which, till then, was stifled and suppressed. By this means he hoped to obviate the accusations that threatened him, and to mitigate the rage of envy, because such was his dignity and power, that in all important affairs, and in every great danger, the republic could place its confidence in him alone. These are said to be the reasons which induced him to persuade the people not to grant the demands of the Lacedæmonians: but what was the real cause is quite uncertain.

The Lacedæmonians, persuaded, that if they could remove Pericles out of the way, they should be better able to manage the Athenians, required them to banish all *execrable* persons from among them: and Pericles (as Thucydides informs us) was by his mother's side related to those that were pronounced *execrable*, in the affair of Cylon. The success, however, of this application proved the reverse of what was expected by those that ordered it. Instead of rendering Pericles suspected, or involving him in

\* Anaxagoras held the unity of God,—that it was one all-wise Intelligence which raised the beautiful structure of the world out of the Chaos. And if such was the opinion of the master, it was natural for the people to conclude, that his scholar Pericles was against the Polytheism of the times.



trouble, it procured him the more confidence and respect from the people, when they perceived that their enemies both hated and dreaded him above all others. For the same reason he forewarned the Athenians, that if Archidamus, when he entered Attica at the head of the Peloponnesians, and ravaged the rest of the country, should spare his estate, it must be owing either to the rights of hospitality that subsisted between them, or to a design to furnish his enemies with matter of slander; and therefore from that hour he gave his lands and houses to the city of Athens. The Lacedæmonians and confederates accordingly invaded Attica with a great army under the conduct of Archidamus; and laying waste all before them, proceeded as far as Acharnæ,\* where they encamped, expecting that the Athenians would not be able to endure them so near, but meet them in the field for the honour and safety of their country. But it appeared to Pericles too hazardous to give battle to an army of sixty thousand men (for such was the number of the Peloponnesians and Bœotians employed in the first expedition,) and by that step to risk no less than the preservation of the city itself. As to those that were eager for an engagement, and uneasy at his slow proceedings, he endeavoured to bring them to reason by observing, "That trees, when lopped, will soon grow again; but when men are cut off, the loss is not easily repaired."

In the mean time he took care to hold no assembly of the people, lest he should be forced to act against his own opinion. But as a good pilot, when a storm arises at sea, gives his directions, gets his tackle in order, and then uses his art, regardless of the tears and entreaties of the sick and fearful passengers; so Pericles, when he had secured the gates,

\* The borough of Acharnæ was only fifteen hundred paces from the city.



and placed the guards in every quarter to the best advantage, followed the dictates of his own understanding, unmoved by the clamours and complaints that resounded in his ears. Thus firm he remained, notwithstanding the importunity of his friends, and the threats and accusations of his enemies; notwithstanding the many scoffs, and songs sung, to vilify his character as a general, and to represent him as one who, in the most dastardly manner, betrayed his country to the enemy. Cleon\* too attacked him with great acrimony, making use of the general resentment against Pericles, as a means to increase his own popularity, as Hermippus testifies in these verses :

Sleeps then, thou king of satyrs, sleeps the spear,  
While thundering words make war? why boast thy prowess,  
Yet shudder at the sound of sharpened swords,  
Spite of the flaming Cleon?

Pericles, however, regarded nothing of this kind, but calmly and silently bore all this disgrace and virulence. And though he fitted out an hundred ships, and sent them against Peloponnesus, yet he did not sail with them, but chose to stay and watch over the city, and keep the reins of government in his own hands, until the Peloponnesians were gone. In order to satisfy the common people, who were very uneasy on account of the war, he made a distribution of money and lands: for having expelled the inhabitants of Ægina, he divided the island by lot among the Athenians. Besides, the sufferings of the enemy afforded them some consolation. The fleet sent against Peloponnesus ravaged a large tract of country, and sacked the small towns and villages: and Pericles himself made a descent upon the territories of Megara,† which he laid waste.

\* The same Cleon that Aristophanes satirized. By his harangues and political intrigues, he got himself appointed general.

† He did not undertake this expedition until autumn, when the



Whence it appears, that though the Peloponnesians greatly distressed the Athenians by land, yet, as they were equally distressed by sea, they could not have drawn out the war to so great a length, but must soon have given it up, (as Pericles foretold from the beginning,) had not some divine power prevented the effect of human counsels. A pestilence at that time broke out,\* which destroyed the flower of the youth and the strength of Athens. And not only their bodies, but their very minds were affected: for, as persons delirious with a fever set themselves against a physician or a father, so they raved against Pericles, and attempted his ruin; being persuaded by his enemies, that the sickness was occasioned by the multitude of out-dwellers flocking into the city, and a number of people stuffed together, in the height of summer, in small huts and close cabins, where they were forced to live a lazy inactive life, instead of breathing the pure and open air to which they had been accustomed. They would needs have it, that he was the cause of all this, who, when the war began, admitted within the walls such crowds of people from the country, and yet found no employment for them, but let them continue penned up like cattle, to infect and destroy each other, without affording them the least relief or refreshment.

Desirous to remedy this calamity, and withal in some degree to annoy the enemy, he manned an hundred and fifty ships, on which he embarked great numbers of select horse and foot, and was preparing to set sail. The Athenians conceived good hopes of success, and the enemy no less dreaded so great

Lacedæmonians were retired. In the winter of this year the Athenians solemnized in an extraordinary manner the funerals of such as first died in the war. Pericles pronounced the oration on that occasion, which Thucydides has preserved.

\* See this plague excellently described by Thucydides, who had it himself. Lib. ii. prop. init.



an armament. The whole fleet was in readiness, and Pericles on-board his own galley, when there happened an eclipse of the sun. The sudden darkness was looked upon as an unfavourable omen, and threw them into the greatest consternation. Pericles observing that the pilot was much astonished and perplexed, took his cloak, and having covered his eyes with it, asked him, "If he found any thing terrible in that, or considered it as a sad presage?" upon his answering in the negative, he said, "Where is the difference, then, between this and the other, except that something bigger than my cloak causes the eclipse?" But this is a question which is discussed in the schools of philosophy.

In this expedition Pericles performed nothing worthy of so great an equipment. He laid siege to the sacred city of Epidaurus,\* and at first with some rational hopes of success; but the distemper which prevailed in his army broke all his measures: For it not only carried off his own men, but all that had intercourse with them. As this ill success set the Athenians against him, he endeavoured to console them under their losses, and to animate them to new attempts. But it was not in his power to mitigate their resentment, nor could they be satisfied, until they had showed themselves masters, by voting that he should be deprived of the command, and pay a fine, which, by the lowest account, was fifteen talents; some make it fifty. The person that carried on the prosecution against him, was Cleon, as Idomeneus tells us; or, according to Theophrastus, Simmias; or Lacratides, if we believe Heraclides of Pontus.

The public ferment, indeed, soon subsided; the people quitting their resentment with that blow, as

\* This Epidaurus was in Argeia. It was consecrated to Esculapius: and Plutarch calls it *sacred*, to distinguish it from another town of the same name in Laconia.



a bee leaves its sting in the wound: but his private affairs were in a miserable condition, for he had lost a number of his relations in the plague, and a misunderstanding had prevailed for some time in his family. Xanthippus, the eldest of his legitimate sons, was naturally profuse, and besides had married a young and expensive wife, daughter to Isander, and grand-daughter to Epylicus. He knew not how to brook his father's frugality, who supplied him but sparingly, and with a little at a time, and therefore sent to one of his friends, and took up money in the name of Pericles. When the man came to demand his money, Pericles not only refused to pay him, but even prosecuted him for the demand. Xanthippus was so highly enraged at this, that he began openly to abuse his father. First, he exposed and ridiculed the company he kept in his house, and the conversations he held with the philosophers. He said, that Epitimius the Pharsalian having undesignedly killed a horse with a javelin which he threw at the public games, his father spent a whole day in disputing with Protogorus which might be properly deemed the cause of his death, the javelin, or the man that threw it, or the presidents of the games. Stesimbrotus adds, that it was Xanthippus who spread the vile report concerning his own wife and Pericles, and that the young man retained this implacable hatred against his father to his latest breath. He was carried off by the plague. Pericles lost his sister too at that time, and the greatest part of his relations and friends, who were most capable of assisting him in the business of the state. Notwithstanding these misfortunes, he lost not his dignity of sentiment and greatness of soul. He neither wept, nor performed any funeral rites, nor was he seen at the grave of any of his nearest relations, until the death of Paralus, his last surviving legitimate son. This at last subdued him. He attempted, indeed, then to keep up his usual calm behaviour and serenity of mind; but, in



putting the garland upon the head of the deceased, his firmness forsook him; he could not bear the sad spectacle; he broke out into loud lamentations, and shed a torrent of tears: a passion which he had never before given way to.

Athens made a trial, in the course of a year, of the rest of her generals and orators, and finding none of sufficient weight and authority for so important a charge, she once more turned her eyes on Pericles, and invited him to take upon him the direction of affairs both military and civil. He had for some time shut himself up at home to indulge his sorrow, when Alcibiades, and his other friends, persuaded him to make his appearance. The people making an apology for their ungenerous treatment of him, he re-assumed the reins of government, and being appointed general, his first step was to procure the repeal of the law concerning bastards, of which he himself had been the author; for he was afraid that his name and family would be extinct for want of a successor. The history of that law is as follows: Many years before, Pericles, in the height of his power, and having several legitimate sons (as we have already related,) caused a law to be made, that none should be accounted citizens of Athens, but those whose parents were both Athenians.\* After this, the king of Egypt made the Athenians a present of forty thousand medimni of wheat, and as this was to be divided among the citizens, many persons were proceeded against as illegitimate upon that law, whose birth had never before been called in question, and many were disgraced upon false accusations. Near five thousand were cast, and

\* According to Plutarch's account, at the beginning of the life of Themistocles, this law was made before the time of Pericles. Pericles, however, might put it more strictly in execution than it had been before, from a spirit of opposition to Cimon, whose children were only of the half blood.



sold for slaves ;\* and fourteen thousand and forty appeared to be entitled to the privilege of citizens.† Though it was unequitable and strange, that a law, which had been put in execution with so much severity, should be repealed by the man who first proposed it ; yet the Athenians moved at the late misfortunes in his family, by which he seemed to have suffered the punishment of his arrogance and pride, and thinking he should be treated with humanity, after he had felt the wrath of Heaven, permitted him to enrol a natural son in his own tribe, and to give him his own name. This is he who afterwards defeated the Peloponnesians in a sea-fight at Arginusæ, and was put to death by the people, together with his colleague.‡

About this time Pericles was seized with the plague, but not with such acute and continued symptoms as it generally shows. It was rather a lingering distemper, which with frequent intermissions, and by slow degrees, consumed his body, and impaired the vigour of his mind. Theophrastus has a disquisition in his *Ethics*, whether men's characters may be changed with their fortune, and the soul so

\* The illegitimacy did not reduce men to a state of servitude ; it only placed them in the rank of strangers.

† A small number indeed, at a time when Athens had dared to think of sending out colonies, humbling their neighbours, subduing foreigners, and even of erecting an universal monarchy.

‡ The Athenians had appointed ten commanders on that occasion. After they had obtained the victory they were tried, and eight of them were capitally condemned, of whom six that were on the spot were executed, and this natural son of Pericles was one of them. The only crime laid to their charge, was, that they had not buried the dead. Xenophon, in his *Grecian history*, has given a large account of this affair. It happened under the archonship of Callias, the second year of the ninety-third olympiad, twenty-four years after the death of Pericles. Socrates the philosopher was at that time one of the Prytanes, and resolutely refused to do his office. And a little while after the madness of the people turned the other way.



affected with the disorders of the body as to lose her virtue; and there he relates, that Pericles showed to a friend, who came to visit him in his sickness, an amulet which the women had hung about his neck, intimating that he must be sick indeed, since he submitted to so ridiculous a piece of superstition.\*

When he was at the point of death, his surviving friends and the principal citizens sitting about his bed, discoursed together concerning his extraordinary virtue, and the great authority he had enjoyed, and enumerated his various exploits, and the number of his victories; for, while he was commander in chief, he had erected no less than nine trophies to the honour of Athens. These things they talked of, supposing that he attended not to what they said, but that his senses were gone. He took notice, however, of every word they had spoken, and thereupon delivered himself audibly as follows: "I am surprised, that while you dwell upon and extol these acts of mine, though fortune had her share in them, and many other generals have performed the like, you take no notice of the greatest and most honourable part of my character, *that no Athenian, through my means, ever put on mourning.*"

Pericles undoubtedly deserved admiration, not only for the candour and moderation which he ever retained, amidst the distractions of business and the rage of his enemies, but for that noble sentiment which led him to think it his most excellent attainment, never to have given way to envy or anger, notwithstanding the greatness of his power, nor to have nourished an implacable hatred against his greatest foe. In my opinion, this one thing, I mean

\* It does not appear by this that his understanding was weakened, since he knew the *charm* to be a ridiculous piece of superstition, and showed it to his friend as such; but only that in his extreme sickness he had not resolution enough to refuse what he was sensible would do him no good.



his mild and dispassionate behaviour, his unblemished integrity and irreproachable conduct during his whole administration, makes his appellation of Olympius, which would otherwise be vain and absurd, no longer exceptionable; nay, gives it a propriety. Thus we think the divine powers, as the authors of all good, and naturally incapable of producing evil, worthy to rule and preside over the universe. Not in the manner which the poets relate, who, while they endeavoured to bewilder us by their irrational opinions, stand convicted of inconsistency, by their own writing. For they represent the place which the gods inhabit, as the region of security and the most perfect tranquillity, unapproached by storms and unsullied with clouds, where a sweet serenity for ever reigns, and a pure *æther* displays itself without interruption; and these they think mansions suitable to a blessed and immortal nature. Yet, at the same time, they represent the gods themselves as full of anger, malevolence, hatred, and other passions, unworthy even of a reasonable man. But this by the bye.

The state of public affairs soon showed the want of Pericles,\* and the Athenians openly expressed their regret for his loss. Even those, who, in his lifetime, could but ill brook his superior power, as thinking themselves eclipsed by it, yet upon a trial of other orators and demagogues, after he was gone, soon acknowledged that where severity was required, no man was ever more moderate; or if mildness was necessary, no man better kept up his dignity, than Pericles. And his so much envied authority, to which they had given the name of monarchy and tyranny, then appeared to have been the bul-

\* Pericles died in the third year of the Peloponnesian war, that is, the last year of the eighty-seventh olympiad, and 428 years before the Christian æra.



wark of the state. So much corruption and such a rage of wickedness broke out upon the commonwealth after his death, which he by proper restraints had palliated,\* and kept from dangerous and destructive extremities!

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## FABIUS MAXIMUS.

SUCH were the memorable actions of Pericles, as far as we have been able to collect them; and now we proceed to the life of Fabius Maximus.

The first Fabius was the son of Hercules by one of the nymphs, according to some authors; or, as others say, by a woman of the country, near the river Tyber. From him came the family of the Fabii, one of the most numerous and illustrious in Rome.† Yet some authors write, that the first founders of this family were called *Fodii*,‡ on account of their catching wild beasts by means of *pits*; for a *pit* is still in Latin called *fovea*, and the word *fodere* signifies to *dig*: but in time, two letters being changed, they had the name of *Fabii*. This family

\* Pericles did indeed palliate the distempers of the commonwealth while he lived, but (as we have observed before) he sowed the seeds of them, by bribing the people with their own money; with which they were as much pleased as if it had been his.

† The most numerous, for that family alone undertook the war against the Veientes, and sent out three hundred and six persons of their own name, who were all slain in that expedition. It was likewise one of the most illustrious; for the Fabii had borne the highest offices in the state, and two of them had been seven times consul.

‡ Pliny's account of the matter is much more probable, viz. that they were called *Fabii*, a *Fabis*, from their skill in raising beans; as several other families of note among the Romans were denominated from other branches of husbandry. Indeed their first heroes tilled the ground with their own hands.



produced many eminent men, the most considerable of whom was *Rullus*,\* by the Romans surnamed *Maximus*, or *the Great*, and from him the Fabius Maximus of whom we are writing, was the fourth in descent.

This last had the surname of *Verrucosus*, from a small wart on his upper lip. He was likewise called *Ovicula*,† from the mildness and gravity of his behaviour when a boy. Nay, his composed demeanour, and his silence, his caution in engaging in the diversions of the other boys, the slowness and difficulty with which he took what was taught him, together with the submissive manner in which he complied with the proposals of his comrades, brought him under the suspicion of stupidity and foolishness, with those that did not thoroughly know him. Yet a few there were who perceived that his composedness was owing to the solidity of his parts, and who discerned withal a magnanimity and lion-like courage in his nature. In a short time, when application to business drew him out, it was obvious even to the many, that his seeming inactivity was a command which he had of his passions, that his cautiousness was prudence, and that what had passed for heaviness and insensibility, was really an immoveable firmness of soul. He saw what an important concern the administration was, and in what wars the republic was frequently engaged, and, therefore, by exercise prepared his body, considering its strength as a natural armour; at the same time, he improved his powers of persuasion, as the engines by which the

\* This Fabius Rullus was five times consul, and gained several important victories over the Samnites, Tuscans, and other nations. It was not, however, from these great actions that he obtained the surname of *Maximus*, but from his behaviour in the censorship; during which he reduced the populace of Rome into four tribes, who before were dispersed among all the tribes in general, and by that means had very great power in the assemblies. These were called *Tribus Urbaneæ*. Liv. lib. ix. cap. 46.

† *Ovicula* signifies a little sheep.



people are to be moved, adapting them to the manner of his life. For in his eloquence there was nothing of affectation, no empty, plausible elegance, but it was full of that good sense which was peculiar to him, and had a sententious force and depth, said to have resembled that of Thucydides. There is an oration of his still extant, which he delivered before the people, on occasion of his son's funeral, who died after he had been consul.

Fabius Maximus was five times consul;\* and in his first consulship was honoured with a triumph for the victory he gained over the Ligurians; who, being defeated by him in a set battle, with the loss of a great number of men, were driven behind the Alps, and kept from such inroads and ravages as they had used to make in the neighbouring provinces.

Some years after, Hannibal, having invaded Italy† and gained the battle of Trebia, advanced through Tuscany, laying waste the country, and striking Rome itself with terror and astonishment. This desolation was announced by signs and prodigies, some familiar to the Romans, as that of thunder, for instance, and others quite strange and unaccountable. For it was said, that certain shields sweated blood, that bloody corn was cut at Antium, that red-hot stones fell from the air, that the Falerians saw the heavens open, and many billets fall,‡ upon one of

\* Fabius was consul the first time in the year of Rome 521; and the fifth time in the tenth year of the second Punic war, in the year of Rome 545.

† Here Plutarch leaves a void of fifteen years. It was not, indeed, a remarkable period of the life of Fabius. Hannibal entered Italy in the year of Rome 535. He defeated Scipio in the battle of Ticinus, before he beat Sempronius in that of Trebia.

‡ Plutarch misunderstood Livy, and of the two prodigies which he mentions, made but one. Livy says, "At Falerium the sky was seen to open, and in the void space a great light appeared. The lots at Præneste shrunk of their own accord, and one of them dropped down, whereon was written, "*Mars brandisheth his sword.*" Liv. lib. xxii.—These lots were bits of oak, handsomely wrought, with some ancient characters inscribed upon them. When any



which these words were very legible: *Mars brandisheth his arms*. But Caius Flaminius, then consul, was not discouraged by any of these things. He was indeed naturally a man of much fire and ambition, and, besides, was elated by former successes, which he had met with contrary to all probability: for against the sense of the senate and his colleague, he had engaged with the Gauls and beaten them. Fabius likewise paid but little regard to prodigies,\* as too absurd to be believed, notwithstanding the great effect they had upon the multitude. But being informed how small the numbers of the enemy were, and of the want of money, he advised the Romans to have patience; not to give battle to a man who led on an army hardened by many conflicts for this very purpose; but to send succours to their allies, and to secure the towns that were in their possession, until the vigour of the enemy expired of itself, like a flame for want of fuel.

He could not, however, prevail upon Flaminius. That general declared he would never suffer the war to approach Rome, nor like Camillus of old, dispute within the walls who should be the master of the city. He, therefore, ordered the tribunes to draw out the forces, and mounted his horse, but was thrown headlong off,† the horse, without any visible

came to consult them, the coffer in which they were kept was opened, and a child having first shaken them together, drew out one from the rest, which contained the answer to the querist's demand. As to the lots being shrunk, which Livy mentions, and which was considered as a bad omen, no doubt the priests had two sets, a smaller and a greater, which they played upon the people's superstition as they pleased. Cicero says, they were very little regarded in his time. *Cic. de Divinat. lib. ii.*

\* If Fabius was not moved by those prodigies, it was not because he despised them, (as his colleague did, who, according to Livy, neither feared the gods nor took advice of men,) but because he hoped, by appeasing the anger of the gods, to render the prodigies ineffectual. It was not Fabius, however, but Cn. Servilius Geminus, who was colleague to Flaminius.

† This fall from his horse, which was considered as an ill omen,



cause, being seized with a fright and trembling. Yet he persisted in his resolution of marching out to meet Hannibal, and drew up his army near the lake called Thrasymentus,\* in Tuscany.

While the armies were engaged, there happened an earthquake, which overturned whole cities, changed the course of rivers, and tore off the tops of mountains: yet not one of the combatants was in the least sensible of that violent motion. Flaminius himself, having greatly signalized his strength and valour, fell; and with him the bravest of his troops; the rest being routed, a great carnage ensued: full fifteen thousand were slain, and as many taken prisoners.† Hannibal was very desirous of discovering the body of Flaminius, that he might bury it with due honour, as a tribute to his bravery, but he could not find it, nor could any account be given what became of it.

When the Romans lost the battle of Trebia, neither the generals sent a true account of it, nor the messenger represented it as it was: both pretended the victory was doubtful. But as to the last, as

was followed by another as bad. When the ensign attempted to pull his standard out of the ground in order to march, he had not strength enough to do it. But where is the wonder, says Cicero, to have a horse take fright, or to find a standard-bearer feebly endeavouring to draw up the standard, which he had perhaps purposely struck deep into the ground?

\* Now the lake of Perugia.

† Notwithstanding this complete victory, Hannibal lost only fifteen hundred men; for he fought the Romans at great advantage, having drawn them into an ambuscade between the hills of Cortona and the lake Thrasymentus. Livy and Valerius Maximus make the number of prisoners only six thousand; but Polybius says, they were much more numerous. About ten thousand Romans, most of them wounded, made their escape, and took their route to Rome, where few of them arrived, the rest dying of their wounds before they reached the capital. Two mothers were so transported with joy, one at the gate of the city, when she saw her son unexpectedly appear, and the other at home, where she found her son, that they both expired on the spot.



soon as the prætor Pomponius was apprised of it, he assembled the people, and without disguising the matter in the least, made this declaration: "Romans! we have lost a great battle, our army is cut to pieces, and Flaminius the consul is slain; think, therefore, what is to be done for your safety." The same commotion which a furious wind causes in the ocean, did these words of the prætor produce in so vast a multitude. In the first consternation they could not fix upon any thing: but at length, all agreed that affairs required the direction of an absolute power, which they called the dictatorship, and that a man should be pitched upon for it, who would exercise it with steadiness and intrepidity. That such a man was Fabius Maximus, who had a spirit and dignity of manners equal to so great a command, and, besides, was of an age in which the vigour of the body is sufficient to execute the purposes of the mind, and courage is tempered with prudence.

Pursuant to these resolutions, Fabius was chosen dictator,\* and he appointed Lucius Minucius his general of the horse.† But first he desired permission of the senate to make use of a horse when in the field. This was forbidden by an ancient law, either because they placed their greatest strength in the infantry, and therefore chose that the commander in chief should be always posted among them; or else because they would have the dictator, whose power in all other respects was very great, and, indeed, arbitrary, in this case at least appear to be dependent upon the people. In the next place,

\* A dictator could not be regularly named but by the surviving consul, and Servilius being with the army, the people appointed Fabius by their own authority, with the title of prodictator. However, the gratitude of Rome allowed his descendants to put dictator instead of prodictator in the list of his titles.

† According to Polybius and Livy, his name was not Lucius, but Marcus Minucius; nor was he pitched upon by Fabius, but by the people.



Fabius, willing to show the high authority and grandeur of his office, in order to make the people more tractable and submissive, appeared in public with twenty-four *lictors* carrying the *fascēs* before him; and when the surviving consul met him, he sent one of his officers to order him to dismiss his *lictors* and the other ensigns of his employment, and to join him as a private man.

Then beginning with an act of religion, which is the best of all beginnings, and assuring the people that their defeats were not owing to the cowardice of the soldiers, but to the general's neglect of the sacred rites and auspices, he exhorted them to entertain no dread of the enemy, but by extraordinary honours to propitiate the gods. Not that he wanted to infuse into them a spirit of superstition, but to confirm their valour by piety, and to deliver them from every other fear, by a sense of the Divine protection. On that occasion he consulted several of those mysterious books of the Sibyls, which contained matters of great use to the state; and it is said, that some of the prophecies found there perfectly agreed with the circumstances of those times: but it was not lawful to divulge them. However, in full assembly, he vowed to the gods a *ver sacrum*, that is, all the young which the next spring should produce, on the mountains, the fields, the rivers, and meadows of Italy, from the goats, the swine, the sheep, and the cows. He likewise vowed to exhibit the great games in honour of the gods, and to expend upon those games three hundred and thirty-three thousand *sesterces*, three hundred and thirty-three *denarii*, and one third of a *denarius*; which sum in our Greek money is eighty-three thousand five hundred and eighty-three *drachmas* and two *oboli*. What his reason might be for fixing upon that precise number is not easy to determine, unless it were on account of the perfection of the number three, as being the first of odd numbers,



the first of plurals, and containing in itself the first differences, and the first elements of all numbers.

Fabius having taught the people to repose themselves on acts of religion, made them more easy as to future events. For his own part, he placed all his hopes of victory in himself, believing that heaven blesses men with success on account of their virtue and prudence; and therefore he watched the motions of Hannibal, not with a design to give him battle, but by length of time to waste his spirit and vigour, and gradually to destroy him by means of his superiority in men and money. To secure himself against the enemy's horse, he took care to encamp above them on high and mountainous places. When they sat still he did the same; when they were in motion he showed himself upon the heights, at such a distance as not to be obliged to fight against his inclination, and yet near enough to keep them in perpetual alarm, as if, amidst his arts to gain time, he intended every moment to give them battle.

These dilatory proceedings exposed him to contempt among the Romans in general, and even in his own army. The enemy, too, excepting Hannibal, thought him a man of no spirit. He alone was sensible of the keenness of Fabius, and of the manner in which he intended to carry on the war, and therefore was determined, if possible, either by stratagem or force, to bring him to a battle, concluding that otherwise the Carthaginians must be undone: since they could not decide the matter in the field, where they had the advantage, but must gradually wear away and be reduced to nothing, when the dispute was only who should be superior in men and money. Hence it was that he exhausted the whole art of war; like a skilful wrestler, who watches every opportunity to lay hold of his adversary. Sometimes he advanced and alarmed him with the apprehensions of an attack; sometimes by marching and counter-marching he led him from place to place, hoping to



draw him from his plan of caution. But as he was fully persuaded of its utility, he kept immoveably to his resolution. Minucius, his general of horse, gave him, however, no small trouble, by his unseasonable courage and heat, haranguing the army, and filling them with a furious desire to come to action, and a vain confidence of success. Thus the soldiers were brought to despise Fabius, and by way of derision to call him the *pedagogue* of Hannibal,\* while they extolled Minucius as a great man, and one that acted up to the dignity of Rome. This led Minucius to give a freer scope to his arrogance and pride, and to ridicule the dictator for encamping constantly upon the mountains, “As if he did it on purpose that his men might more clearly behold Italy laid waste with fire and sword.” And he asked the friends of Fabius, “Whether he intended to take his army up into heaven, as he had bid adieu to the world below, or whether he would screen himself from the enemy with clouds and fogs?” When the dictator’s friends brought him an account of these aspersions, and exhorted him to wipe them off by risking a battle, “In that case,” said he, “I should be of a more dastardly spirit than they represent me, if through fear of insults and reproaches, I should depart from my own resolution. But to fear for my country is not a disagreeable fear. That man is unworthy of such a command as this, who shrinks under calumnies and slanders, and complies with the humour of those whom he ought to govern, and whose folly and rashness it is his duty to restrain.”

After this, Hannibal made a disagreeable mistake. For intending to lead his army farther from Fabius, and to move into a part of the country that would afford him forage, he ordered the guides, immediately

\* For the office of a *pedagogue* of old was (as the name implies) to attend the children, to carry them up and down, and conduct them home again.



after supper to conduct him to the plains of Casinum.\* They taking the word wrong, by reason of his *barbarous* pronounciation of it, led his forces to the borders of Campania, near the town of Casalium, through which runs the river Lothronus, which the Romans call Vulturnus. The adjacent country is surrounded with mountains, except only a valley that stretches out to the sea. Near the sea the ground is very marshy, and full of large banks of sand, by reason of the overflowing of the river. The sea is there very rough and the coast almost impracticable.

As soon as Hannibal was entered into this valley, Fabius availing himself of his knowledge of the country, seized the narrow outlet, and placed in it a guard of four thousand men. The main body of his army he posted to advantage on the surrounding hills, and with the lightest and most active of his troops, fell upon the enemy's rear, and put their whole army in disorder, and killed about eight hundred of them.

Hannibal then wanted to get clear of so disadvantageous a situation, and, in revenge of the mistake the guides had made, and the danger they had brought him into, he crucified them all. But not knowing how to drive the enemy from the heights they were masters of, and sensible besides of the terror and confusion that reigned amongst his men, who concluded themselves fallen into a snare, from

\* Hannibal had ravaged Samnium, plundered the territory of Beneventum, a Roman colony, and laid siege to Tulesia, a city at the foot of the Appenines. But finding that neither the ravaging of the country, nor even the taking of some cities could make Fabius quit his eminences, he resolved to make use of a stronger bait, which was to enter Campania, the finest country in Italy, and lay it waste under the dictator's eyes, hoping by that means to bring him to an action. But by the mistake which Plutarch mentions, his guides, instead of conducting him to the plains of Casinum, led him into the narrow passes of Casilinum, which divides Samnium from Campania.



which there was no escaping, he had recourse to stratagem.

The contrivance was this. He caused two thousand oxen, which he had in his camp, to have torches and dry bavins well fastened to their horns. These, in the night, upon a signal given, were to be lighted, and the oxen to be driven to the mountains, near the narrow pass that was guarded by the enemy. While those that had it in charge were thus employed, he decamped, and marched slowly forward. So long as the fire was moderate, and burned only the torches and bavins, the oxen moved softly on, as they were driven up the hills; and the shepherds and herdsmen on the adjacent heights took them for an army that marched in order with lighted torches. But when their horns were burnt to the roots, and the fire pierced to the quick, terrified and mad with pain, they no longer kept any certain route, but ran up the hills, with their foreheads and tails flaming, and setting every thing on fire that came in their way. The Romans who guarded the pass were astonished; for they appeared to them like a great number of men running up and down with torches, which scattered fire on every side. In their fears, of course, they concluded, that they should be attacked and surrounded by the enemy; for which reason they quitted the pass, and fled to the main body in the camp. Immediately Hannibal's light-armed troops took possession of the outlet, and the rest of his forces marched safely through, loaded with a rich booty.

Fabius discovered the stratagem that same night, for some of the oxen, as they were scattered about, fell into his hands; but, for fear of an ambush in the dark, he kept his men all night under arms in the camp. At break of day, he pursued the enemy, came up with their rear, and attacked them; several skirmishes ensued in the difficult passes of the mountains, and Hannibal's army was put in some disorder,



until he detached from his van a body of Spaniards, light and nimble men, who were accustomed to climb such heights. These falling upon the heavy-armed Romans, cut off a considerable number of them, and obliged Fabius to retire. This brought upon him more contempt and calumny than ever : for having renounced open force, as if he could subdue Hannibal by conduct and foresight, he appeared now to be worsted at his own weapons. Hannibal, to incense the Romans still more against him, when he came to his lands, ordered them to be spared, and set a guard upon them to prevent the committing of the least injury there, while he was ravaging all the country around him, and laying it waste with fire. An account of these things being brought to Rome, heavy complaints were made thereupon. The tribunes alleged many articles of accusation against him, before the people, chiefly at the instigation of Metilius, who had no particular enmity to Fabius, but being strongly in the interest of Minucius, the general of the horse, whose relation he was, he thought by depressing Fabius, to raise his friend. The senate too was offended, particularly with the terms he had settled with Hannibal for the ransom of prisoners. For it was agreed between them, that the prisoners should be exchanged, man for man, and that if either of them had more than the other, he should release them for two hundred and fifty drachmas each man ;\* and upon the whole account there remained two hundred and forty Romans unexchanged. The senate determined not to pay this ransom, and blamed Fabius as taking a step that was against the honour and interest of the state, in endeavouring to recover men whom cowardice had betrayed into the hands of the enemy.

\* Livy calls this *argenti pondo bina et selibras in militem* ; whence we learn that the Roman *pondo*, or pound weight of silver, was equivalent to one hundred Grecian *drachmas* or a *mina*.



When Fabius was informed of the resentment of his fellow-citizens, he bore it with invincible patience ; but being in want of money, and not choosing to deceive Hannibal, or to abandon his countrymen in their distress, he sent his son to Rome, with orders to sell part of his estate, and bring him the money immediately. This was punctually performed by his son, and Fabius redeemed the prisoners ; several of whom afterwards offered to repay him, but his generosity would not permit him to accept it.

After this he was called to Rome by the priests, to assist at some of the solemn sacrifices, and therefore was obliged to leave the army to Minucius ; but he both charged him as dictator, and used many arguments and entreaties with him as a friend, not to come to any kind of action. The pains he took were lost upon Minucius ; for he immediately sought occasions to fight the enemy. And observing one day that Hannibal had sent out great part of his army to forage, he attacked those that were left behind, and drove them within their entrenchments, killing great numbers of them, so that they even feared he would storm their camp : and when the rest of the Carthaginian forces were returned, he retreated without loss.\* This success added to his temerity, and increased the ardour of his soldiers. The report of it soon reached Rome, and the advantage was represented as much greater than it really was. When Fabius was informed of it, he said, *he dreaded nothing more than the success of Minucius*. But the people, mightily elated with the news, ran to the *forum* ; and their tribune Metilius harangued them from the *rostrum*, highly extolling Minucius, and accusing Fabius now, not of cowardice and want of spirit, but of treachery. He endeavoured also to involve the principal men in Rome in the same

\* Others say, that he lost five thousand of his men, and that the enemy's loss did not exceed his by more than a thousand.



crime, alleging, "That they had originally brought the war upon Italy, for the destruction of the common people, and had put the commonwealth under the absolute direction of one man, who by his slow proceedings gave Hannibal opportunity to establish himself in the country, and to draw fresh forces from Carthage, in order to effect a total conquest of Italy."

Fabius disdained to make any defence against these allegations of the tribune; he only declared that "He would finish the sacrifice and other religious rites as soon as possible, that he might return to the army and punish Minucius for fighting contrary to his orders." This occasioned a great tumult among the people, who were alarmed at the danger of Minucius. For it is in the dictator's power to imprison and inflict capital punishment without form of trial: and they thought that the wrath of Fabius now provoked, though he was naturally very mild and patient, would prove heavy and implacable. But fear kept them all silent, except Metilius, whose person, as tribune of the people, could not be touched, (for the tribunes are the only officers of state that retain their authority after the appointing of a dictator.) Metilius entreated, insisted that the people should not give up Minucius, to suffer, perhaps, what Manlius Torquatus caused his own son to suffer, whom he beheaded when crowned with laurel for his victory; but that they should take from Fabius his power to play the tyrant, and leave the direction of affairs to one who was both able and willing to save his country. The people, though much affected with this speech, did not venture to divest Fabius of the dictatorship, notwithstanding the *odium* he had incurred, but decreed that Minucius should share the command with him, and have equal authority in conducting the war: a thing never before practised in Rome. There was, however, another instance of it soon after upon the unfortunate action of Cannæ: for Marcus Junius the



dictator being then in the field, they created another dictator, Fabius Buteo, to fill up the senate, many of whose members were slain in that battle. There was this difference, indeed, that Buteo had no sooner enrolled the new senators, than he dismissed his *lictors* and the rest of his retinue, and mixed with the crowd, stopping some time in the *forum* about his own affairs as a private man.

When the people had thus invested Minucius with a power equal to that of the dictator, they thought they should find Fabius extremely humbled and dejected; but it soon appeared that they knew not the man. For he did not reckon their mistake any unhappiness to him; but as Diogenes, the philosopher, when one said, "They deride you," answered well, "But I am not derided;" accounting those only to be ridiculed, who feel the ridicule and are discomposed at it; so Fabius bore without emotion all that happened to himself, herein confirming that position in philosophy, which affirms that *a wise and good man can suffer no disgrace*. But he was under no small concern for the public, on account of the unadvised proceedings of the people, who had put it in the power of a rash man to indulge his indiscreet ambition for military distinction. And apprehensive that Minucius, infatuated with ambition, might take some fatal step, he left Rome very privately.

Upon his arrival at the camp, he found the arrogance of Minucius grown to such a height, that it was no longer to be endured. Fabius therefore refused to comply with his demand of having the army under his orders every other day, and, instead of that, divided the forces with him, choosing rather to have the full command of a part, than the direction of the whole by turns. He therefore took the first and fourth legions himself, leaving the second and third to Minucius; and the confederate forces were likewise equally divided.

Minucius valued himself highly upon this, that the



power of the greatest and most arbitrary office in the state was controlled and reduced for his sake. But Fabius put him in mind, "That it was not Fabius whom he had to contend with, but Hannibal; that if he would, notwithstanding, consider his colleague as his rival, he must take care lest he who had so successfully carried his point with the people, should one day appear to have their safety and interest less at heart than the man who had been so ill treated by them." Minucius considering this as the effect of an old man's pique, and taking the troops that fell to his lot, marked out a separate camp for them.\* Hannibal was well informed of all that had passed, and watched his opportunity to take advantage of it.

There was a hill betwixt him and the enemy, not difficult to take possession of, which yet would afford an army a very safe and commodious post. The ground about it, at a distance, seemed quite level and plain, though there were in it several ditches and hollows: and therefore, though he might privately have seized that post with ease, yet he left it as a bait to draw the enemy to an engagement. But as soon as he saw Minucius parted from Fabius, he took an opportunity in the night to place a number† of men in those ditches and hollows: and early in the morning he openly sent out a small party, as if designed to make themselves masters of the hill, but really to draw Minucius to dispute it with them. The event answered his expectation. For Minucius sent out his light-armed troops first, then the cavalry, and at last, when he saw Hannibal send reinforcements to his men upon the hill, he marched out with all his forces in order of battle, and attacked with great vigour the Carthaginians, who were marking out a camp upon the hill. The fortune of the day

\* About fifteen hundred paces from Fabius.

† Five hundred horse and five thousand foot. POLYB.



was doubtful, until Hannibal, perceiving that the enemy had fallen into the snare, and that their rear was open to the ambuscade, instantly gave the signal. Hereupon, his men rushed out on all sides, and advancing with loud shouts, and cutting in pieces the hindmost ranks, they put the Romans in disorder and terror inexpressible. Even the spirit of Minucius began to shrink; and he looked first upon one officer and then upon another, but not one of them durst stand his ground; they all betook themselves to flight, and the flight itself proved fatal. For the Numidians, now victorious, galloped round the plain, and killed those whom they found dispersed.

Fabius was not ignorant of the danger of his countrymen. Foreseeing what would happen, he kept his forces under arms, and took care to be informed how the action went on: nor did he trust to the reports of others, but he himself looked out from an eminence not far from his camp. When he saw the army of his colleague surrounded and broken, and the cry reached him, not like that of men standing the charge, but of persons flying in great dismay,\* he smote upon his thigh, and with a deep sigh said to his friends about him, "Ye gods! how much sooner than I expected, and yet later than his indiscreet proceedings required, has Minucius ruined himself!" Then, having commanded the standard-bearers to advance, and the whole army to follow, he addressed them in these words: "Now, my brave soldiers, if any one has a regard for Marcus Minucius, let him exert himself; for he deserves assistance for his valour, and the love he bears his country. If, in his haste to drive out the enemy, he has committed any error, this is not a time to find fault with him."

\* Homer mentions the custom of smiting upon the thigh in time of trouble; and we learn from Scripture, that it was practised in the east.



The first sight of Fabius frightened away the Numidians, who were picking up stragglers in the field. Then he attacked those who were charging the Romans in the rear. Such as made resistance he slew; but the greatest part retreated to their own army, before the communication was cut off, lest they should themselves be surrounded in their turn. Hannibal seeing this change of fortune, and finding that Fabius pushed on through the hottest of the battle with a vigour above his years, to come up to Minucius upon the hill, put an end to the dispute, and having sounded a retreat, retired into his camp. The Romans, on their part, were not sorry when the action was over. Hannibal, as he was drawing off, is reported to have said smartly to those that were by, "Did not I often tell you, that this cloud would one day burst upon us from the mountains, with all the fury of a storm?"

After the battle, Fabius having collected the spoils of such Carthaginians as were left dead upon the field, returned to his post; nor did he let fall one haughty or angry word against his colleague. As for Minucius, having called his men together, he thus expressed himself: "Friends and fellow-soldiers! not to err at all in the management of great affairs, is above the wisdom of men: but it is the part of a prudent and good man, to learn, from his errors and miscarriages, to correct himself for the future. For my part, I confess, that though fortune has frowned upon me a little, I have much to thank her for. For what I could not be brought to be sensible of in so long a time, I have learned in the small compass of one day, that I know not how to command, but have need to be under the direction of another; and from this moment I bid adieu to the ambition of getting the better of a man whom it is an honour to be foiled by. In all other respects, the dictator shall be your commander; but in the due expressions of gratitude to him, I will be your leader



still, by being the first to show an example of obedience and submission."

He then ordered the ensigns to advance with the eagles, and the troops to follow, himself marching at their head to the camp of Fabius. Being admitted, he went directly to his tent. The whole army waited with impatience for the event. When Fabius came out, Minucius fixed his standard before him, and with a loud voice saluted him by the name of *Father*; at the same time his soldiers called those of Fabius their *Patrons*; an appellation which freedmen give to those that enfranchise them. These respects being paid, and silence taking place, Minucius thus addressed himself to the dictator: "You have this day, Fabius, obtained two victories; one over the enemy by your valour, the other over your colleague by your prudence and humanity. By the former you saved us, by the latter you have instructed us: and Hannibal's victory over us is not more disgraceful than yours is honourable and salutary to us. I call you *Father*, not knowing a more honourable name, and am more indebted to you than to my real father. To him I owe my being, but to you the preservation of my life, and the lives of all these brave men." After this, he threw himself into the arms of Fabius, and the soldiers of each army embraced one another, with every expression of tenderness, and with tears of joy.

Not long after this, Fabius laid down the dictatorship, and consuls were created.\* The first of these kept to the plan which Fabius had laid down. He took care not to come to a pitched battle with Han-

\* According to Livy, Fabius, after the six months of his dictatorship were expired, resigned the army to the consuls of that year, Servilius and Attilius; the latter having been appointed in the room of Flaminius, who was killed in battle. But Plutarch follows Polybius, who says, that as the time for the election of new consuls approached, the Romans named L. Æmilius Paulus and Terentius Varro consuls, after which the dictators resigned their charge.



nibal, but sent succours to the allies of Rome, and prevented any revolt in their cities. But when Terentius Varro,\* a man of obscure birth, and remarkable only for his temerity and servile complaisance to the people, rose to the consulship, it soon appeared that his boldness and inexperience would bring him to risk the very being of the commonwealth. For he loudly insisted in the assemblies of the people, that the war stood still whilst it was under the conduct of the Fabii; but, for his part, he would take but one day to get sight of the enemy and to beat him. With these promises he so prevailed on the multitude, that he raised greater forces than Rome had ever had on foot before, in her most dangerous wars; for he mustered † no fewer than eighty-eight thousand men. Hereupon, Fabius, and other wise and experienced persons among the Romans were greatly alarmed; because they saw no resource for the state, if such a number of their youth should be cut off. They addressed themselves, therefore, to the other consul, Paulus Æmilius, a man of great experience in war, but disagreeable to the people, and at the same time afraid of them, for they had formerly set a considerable fine upon him. Fabius, however, encouraged him to withstand the temerity of his colleague, telling him, “That the dispute he had to support for his country was not so much with Hannibal as with Varro. The latter,” said he, “will hasten to an engagement, ‡ because he knows not his own strength;

\* Varro was the son of a butcher, and had followed his father's profession in his youth; but, growing rich, he had forsaken that mean calling; and, by the favour of the people, procured by supporting the most turbulent of their tribunes, he obtained the consulate.

† It was usual with the Romans to muster every year four legions, which consisting in difficult times, each of five thousand Roman foot and three hundred horse, and a battalion of Latins equal to that number, amounted in the whole to 42,400. But this year, instead of four legions, they raised eight.

‡ The best dependance of Varro was, undoubtedly, to prolong



and the former, because he knows his own weakness. But, believe me, Æmilius, I deserve more attention than Varro, with respect to the affairs of Hannibal; and I do assure you, that if the Romans come to no battle with him this year, he will either be undone by his stay in Italy, or else be obliged to quit it. Even now, when he seems to be victorious, and to carry all before him, not one of his enemies has quitted the Roman interest, and not a third part of the forces remains which he brought from home with him." To this Æmilius is said to have answered, "My friend, when I consider myself only, I conclude it better for me to fall upon the weapons of the enemy, than by the sentence of my own countrymen. However, since the state of public affairs is so critical, I will endeavour to approve myself a good general, and had rather appear such to you, than to all who oppose you, and who would draw me, willing or unwilling, to their party." With these sentiments Æmilius began his operations.

But Varro, having brought his colleague to agree\* that they should command alternately each his day, when his turn came, took post over against Hannibal, on the banks of the Aufidus, near the village of Cannæ.† As soon as it was light, he gave the signal for battle, which is a red mantle set up over the

the war, that Hannibal, who was already weakened, might wear himself out by degrees; and, for the same reason, it was Hannibal's business to fight.

\* It was a fixed rule with the Romans, that the consuls, when they went upon the same service, should have the command of the army by turns.

† Cannæ, according to Livy, Appian, and Florus, was only a poor village, which afterwards became famous on account of the battle fought near it; but Polybius, who lived near the time of the second Punic war, styles Cannæ a city; and adds, that it had been razed a year before the defeat of the Roman army. Silius Italicus agrees with Polybius. It was afterwards rebuilt; for Pliny ranks it among the cities of Apulia. The ruins of Cannæ are still to be seen in the territory of Bari.



general's tent. The Carthaginians were a little disheartened at first, when they saw how daring the consul was, and that his army was more than twice their number. But Hannibal having ordered them to arm, himself, with a few others, rode up to an eminence, to take a view of the enemy now drawn up for battle. One Gisco that accompanied him, a man of his own rank, happening to say "The numbers of the enemy appeared to him surprising." Hannibal replied, with a serious countenance, "There is another thing which has escaped your observation, much more surprising than that." Upon his asking what it was, "It is," said he, "that among such numbers not one of them is named Gisco." The whole company were diverted with the humour of his observations; and as they returned to the camp, they told the jest to those they met, so that the laugh became universal. At sight of this the Carthaginians took courage, thinking it must proceed from the great contempt in which their general held the Romans, that he could jest and laugh in the face of danger.

In this battle Hannibal gave great proofs of generalship. In the first place, he took advantage of the ground, to post his men with their backs to the wind, which was then very violent and scorching, and drove from the dry plains, over the heads of the Carthaginians, clouds of sand and dust into the eyes and nostrils of the Romans, so that they were obliged to turn away their faces and break their ranks. In the next place, his troops were drawn up with superior art. He placed the flower of them in the wings, and those upon whom he had less dependance in the main corps, which was considerably more advanced than the wings. Then he commanded those in the wings, that when the enemy had charged and vigorously pushed that advanced body, which he knew would give way, and open a passage for them to the very centre, and when the Romans by this means



should be far enough engaged within the two wings, they should both on the right and left take them in flank, and endeavour to surround them.\* This was the principal cause of the great carnage that followed. For the enemy pressing upon Hannibal's front, which gave ground, the form of his army was changed into a half-moon; and the officers of the select troops caused the two points of the wings to join behind the Romans. Thus they were exposed to the attacks of the Carthaginians on all sides; an incredible slaughter followed; nor did any escape but the few that retreated before the main body was enclosed.

It is also said, that a strange and fatal accident happened to the Roman cavalry. For the horse which Æmilius rode having received some hurt, threw him; and those about him alighting to assist and defend the consul on foot, the rest of the cavalry seeing this, and taking it for a signal for them to do the same, all quitted their horses, and charged on foot. At sight of this, Hannibal said, "This pleases me better than if they had been delivered to me bound hand and foot." But the particulars may be found at large in the historians who have described this battle.

As to the consuls, Varro escaped with a few horse to Venutia; and Æmilius, covered with darts which stuck in his wounds, sat down in anguish and despair, waiting for the enemy to despatch him. His head and his face were so disfigured and stained with blood, that it was not easy to know him; even his friends and servants passed by him without stopping. At last, Cornelius Lentulus, a young man of a *patrician* family, perceiving who he was, dismounted, and entreated him to take his horse, and save himself for the commonwealth, which had then more oc-

\* Five hundred Numidians pretended to desert to the Romans; but in the heat of the battle turned against them, and attacked them in the rear.



casion than ever for so good a consul. But nothing could prevail upon him to accept of the offer ; and, notwithstanding the young man's tears, he obliged him to mount his horse again. Then rising up, and taking him by the hand, "Tell Fabius Maximus," said he, "and, Lentulus, do you yourself be witness, that Paulus Æmilius followed his directions to the last, and did not deviate in the least from the plan agreed upon between them, but was first overcome by Varro, and then by Hannibal." Having despatched Lentulus with this commission, he rushed among the enemy's swords, and was slain. Fifty thousand Romans are said to have fallen in this battle,\* and four thousand to have been taken prisoners, beside ten thousand that were taken after the battle in both the camps.

After this great success, Hannibal's friends advised him to pursue his fortune, and to enter Rome along with the fugitives, assuring him that in five days he might sup in the Capitol. It is not easy to conjecture what his reason was for not taking this step. Most probably some deity opposed it, and therefore inspired him with this hesitation and timidity. On this account it was that a Carthaginian, named Barca, said to him with some heat, "Hannibal, you know how to gain a victory, but not how to use it."†

\* According to Livy, there were killed of the Romans only forty thousand foot, and two thousand seven hundred horse. Polybius says, that seventy thousand were killed. The loss of the Carthaginians did not amount to six thousand.

When the Carthaginians were stripping the dead, among other moving objects, they found to their great surprise, a Numidian yet alive, lying under the dead body of a Roman, who had thrown himself headlong on his enemy, and beat him down ; but being no longer able to make use of his weapons, because he had lost his hands, had torn off the nose and ears of the Numidian with his teeth, and in that fit of rage expired.

† Zonarus tells us, that Hannibal himself afterwards acknowledged his mistake in not pursuing that day's success, and used often to cry out, O Cannæ, Cannæ !



The battle of Cannæ, however, made such an alteration in his affairs, that though before it he had neither town, nor magazine, nor port in Italy, but, without any regular supplies for the war, subsisted his army by rapine, and for that purpose moved them, like a great band of robbers, from place to place, yet then he became master of the greatest part of Italy. Its best provinces and towns voluntarily submitted to him, and Capua itself, the most respectable city after Rome, threw its weight into his scale.

In this case it appeared that great misfortunes are not only, what Euripides calls them, a trial of the fidelity of a friend, but of the capacity and conduct of a general. For the proceedings of Fabius, which before this battle were deemed cold and timid, then appeared to be directed by counsels more than human, to be indeed the dictates of a divine wisdom, which penetrated into futurity at such a distance, and foresaw what seemed incredible to the very persons who experienced it. In him, therefore, Rome places her last hope; his judgment is the temple, the altar, to which she flies for refuge, believing that to his prudence it was chiefly owing that she still held up her head, and that her children were not dispersed, as when she was taken by the Gauls. For he, who in times of apparent security, seemed to be deficient in confidence and resolution, now when all abandoned themselves to inexpressible sorrow and helpless despair, alone walked about the city with a calm

But on the other hand, it may be pleaded in defence of Hannibal, that the advantages he had gained were chiefly owing to his cavalry, who could not act in a siege: That the inhabitants of Rome were all bred up to arms from their infancy; would use their utmost efforts in defence of their wives, their children, and their domestic gods; and, when sheltered by walls and ramparts, would probably be invincible: that they had as many generals as senators: that no one nation of Italy had yet declared for him, and he might judge it necessary to gain some of them before he attempted the capital: and lastly, that if he had attempted the capital first, and without success, he would not have been able to gain any one nation or city.



and easy pace, with a firm countenance, a mild and gracious address, checking their effeminate lamentations, and preventing them from assembling in public to bewail their common distress. He caused the senate to meet; he encouraged the magistrates, himself being the soul of their body, for all waited his motion, and were ready to obey his orders. He placed a guard at the gates, to hinder such of the people as were inclined to fly, from quitting the city. He fixed both the place and time for mourning, allowed thirty days for that purpose in a man's own house, and no more for the city in general. And as the feast of Ceres fell within that time, it was thought better entirely to omit the solemnity, than by the small numbers and the melancholy looks of those that should attend it, to discover the greatness of their loss:\* for the worship most acceptable to the gods is that which comes from cheerful hearts. Indeed, whatever the augurs ordered for propitiating the divine powers, and averting inauspicious omens, was carefully performed. For Fabius Pictor, the near relation of Fabius Maximus, was sent to consult the oracle at Delphi; and of the two vestals who were then found guilty of a breach of their vow of chastity, one was buried alive, according to custom, and the other died by her own hand.

But what most deserves to be admired, is the magnanimity and temper of the Romans, when the consul Varro returned after his defeat,† much hum-

\* This was not the real cause of deferring the festival, but that which Plutarch hints at just after, *viz.* because it was unlawful for persons in mourning to celebrate it; and at that time there was not one matron in Rome that was not in mourning. In fact, the feast was not entirely omitted, but kept as soon as the mourning was expired.

† Valerius Maximus tells us (lib. iii. c. 6.) that the senate and people offered Varro the dictatorship, which he refused, and by his modest refusal wiped off, in some measure, the shame of his former behaviour. Thus the Romans, by treating their unfortunate commanders with humanity, lessened the disgrace of their being van-



bled and very melancholy, as one who had occasioned the greatest calamity and disgrace imaginable to the republic. The whole senate and people went to welcome him at the gates ; and, when silence was commanded, the magistrates and principal senators, amongst whom was Fabius, commended him for not giving up the circumstances of the state as desperate after so great a misfortune, but returning to take upon him the administration, and to make what advantage he could for his country of the laws and citizens, as not being utterly lost and ruined.

When they found that Hannibal, after the battle, instead of marching to Rome, turned to another part of Italy, they took courage, and sent their armies and generals into the field. The most eminent of these were Fabius Maximus and Claudius Marcellus, men distinguished by characters almost entirely opposite. Marcellus (as we have mentioned in his life,) was a man of a buoyant and animated valour ; remarkably well skilled in the use of weapons, and naturally enterprising ; such an one, in short, as Homer calls *lofty in heart, in courage fierce, in war delighting*. So intrepid a general was very fit to be opposed to an enemy as daring as himself, to restore the courage and spirits of the Romans, by some vigorous stroke in the first engagements. As for Fabius, he kept to his first sentiments, and hoped, that if he only followed Hannibal close, without fighting him, he and his army would wear themselves out, and lose their warlike vigour, just as a wrestler does, who keeps continually in the ring, and allows himself no repose, to recruit his strength after excessive fatigues. Hence it was that the Romans (as Posidonius tells us,) called Fabius *their shield*, and Marcellus *their sword*, and used to say, that the steadiness and cau-

quished or discharged ; while the Carthaginians condemned their generals to cruel deaths upon their being overcome, though it was often without their own fault.



tion of the one, mixed with the vivacity and boldness of the other, made a compound very salutary to Rome. Hannibal, therefore, often meeting Marcellus, whose motions were like those of a torrent, found his forces broken and diminished; and by Fabius, who moved with a silent but constant stream, he was undermined and insensibly weakened. Such, at length, was the extremity he was reduced to, that he was tired of fighting Marcellus, and afraid of Fabius. And these were the persons he had generally to do with during the remainder of the war, as prætors, consuls, or proconsuls: for each of them was five times consul. It is true, Marcellus, in his fifth consulate, was drawn into his snares, and killed by means of an ambuscade. Hannibal often made the like attempts upon Fabius, exerting all his arts and stratagems, but without effect. Once only he deceived him, and had nearly led him into a fatal error. He forged letters to him, as from the principal inhabitants of Metapontum, offering to deliver up the city to him, and assuring him that those who had taken this resolution, only waited till he appeared before it. Fabius giving credit to these letters, ordered a party to be ready, intending to march thither in the night: but finding the auspices unpromising, he altered his design, and soon after discovered that the letters were forged by an artifice of Hannibal's, and that he was lying in ambush for him near the town. But this perhaps may be ascribed to the favour and protection of the gods.

Fabius was persuaded that it was better to keep the cities from revolting, and to prevent any commotions among the allies, by affability and mildness, than to entertain every suspicion, or to use severity against those whom he did suspect. It is reported of him, that being informed, that a certain Marcian in his army,\* who was a man not inferior in courage

\* Livy tells this story of Marcellus, which Plutarch here applies to Fabius.



or family to any among the allies, solicited some of his men to desert, he did not treat him harshly, but acknowledged that he had been too much neglected; declaring at the same time, that he was now perfectly sensible how much his officers had been to blame in distributing honours more out of favour than regard to merit: and that for the future he should take it ill if he did not apply to *him* when he had any request to make. This was followed with a present of a war horse, and with other marks of honour; and from that time the man behaved with great fidelity and zeal for the service. Fabius thought it hard, that, while those who breed dogs and horses soften their stubborn tempers, and bring down their fierce spirits by care and kindness, rather than with whips and chains, he who has the command of men should not endeavour to correct their errors by gentleness and goodness, but treat them even in a harsher and more violent manner than gardeners do the wild fig-trees, wild pears and olives, whose nature they subdue by cultivation, and which by that means they bring to produce very agreeable fruit.

Another time, some of his officers informed him, that one of the soldiers, a native of Lucania, often quitted his post, and rambled out of the camp. Upon this report, he asked what kind of a man he was in other respects; and they all declared it was not easy to find so good a soldier, doing him the justice to mention several extraordinary instances of his valour. On inquiring into the cause of this irregularity, he found that the man was passionately in love, and that for the sake of seeing a young woman he ventured out of the camp, and took a long and dangerous journey every night. Hereupon Fabius gave orders to some of his men to find out the woman, and convey her into his own tent, but took care that the Lucanian should not know it. Then he sent for him, and taking him aside, spoke to him as follows: "I very well know, that you have lain



many nights out of the camp, in breach of the Roman discipline and laws ; at the same time I am not ignorant of your past services. In consideration of them, I forgive your present crime ; but for the future I will give you in charge to a person who shall be answerable for you." While the soldier stood much amazed, Fabius produced the woman, and putting her in his hands, thus expressed himself : " This is the person who engages for you that you will remain in camp ; and now we shall see whether there was not some traitorous design which drew you out, and which you made the love of this woman a cloak for." Such is the account we have of this affair.

By means of another love affair, Fabius recovered the city of Tarentum, which had been treacherously delivered up to Hannibal. A young man, a native of that place, who served under Fabius, had a sister there, who loved him with great tenderness. This youth being informed, that a certain Brutian, one of the officers of the garrison which Hannibal had put in Tarentum, entertained a violent passion for his sister, hoped to avail himself of this circumstance to the advantage of the Romans. Therefore, with the permission of Fabius, he returned to his sister at Tarentum, under colour of having deserted. Some days passed, during which the Brutian forbore his visits, for she supposed that her brother knew nothing of the amour. This obliged the young man to come to an explanation. " It has been currently reported," said he " that you receive addresses from a man of some distinction. Pray, who is he ? If he is a man of honour and character, as they say he is, Mars, who confounds all things, takes but little thought of what country he may be. What necessity imposes is no disgrace ; but we may rather think ourselves fortunate, at a time when justice yields to force, if that which force might compel us to, happens not to be disagreeable to our own inclinations." Thus encouraged, the young woman sent



for the Brutian, and presented him to her brother. And as she behaved to him in a kinder and more complying manner through her brother's means, who was very indulgent to his passion, it was not very difficult to prevail with the Brutian, who was deeply in love, and was withal a mercenary,\* to deliver up the town, upon promises of great rewards from Fabius.

This is the account which most historians give us: yet some say, that the woman by whom the Brutian was gained, was not a Tarentine, but a Brutian; that she had been concubine to Fabius; and that when she found the governor of Tarentum was her countryman and acquaintance, she told Fabius of it, and finding means, by approaching the walls, to make him a proposal, she drew him over to the Roman interest.

During these transactions, Fabius, in order to make a diversion, gave directions to the garrison of Rhegium to lay waste the Brutian territories, and, if possible, to make themselves masters of Caulonia. These were a body of eight thousand men, composed partly of deserters, and partly of the most worthless of that infamous band brought by Marcellus out of Sicily,† and therefore the loss of them would not be great, nor much lamented by the Romans. These men he threw out as a bait for Hannibal, and by sacrificing them hoped to draw him to a distance from Tarentum. The design succeeded accordingly: for Hannibal marched with his forces to Caulonia, and Fabius in the meantime laid siege to Tarentum. The sixth day of the siege, the young

\* *ανδρὸς μισθοφορὸς*——. This has been mistranslated *a man of a mercenary disposition*. The words only import that he was not of Hannibal's own troops, but of the mercenaries. Hence all governments should learn to beware how they entrust their towns with garrisons of hired troops and strangers.

† These men were brought from Sicily, not by Marcellus, but by his colleague Lævinus.



man having settled the matter with the Brutian officer by means of his sister, and having well observed the place where he kept guard and promised to let in the Romans, went to Fabius by night, and gave him an account of it. The consul moved to the appointed quarter, though not entirely depending upon the promise that the town would be betrayed. There he himself sat still, but at the same time ordered an assault on every other part both by sea and land. This was put in execution with great noise and tumult, which drew most of the Tarentines that way to assist the garrison and repel the besiegers. Then the Brutian giving Fabius the signal, he scaled the walls and got possession of the town.

On this occasion Fabius seems to have indulged a criminal ambition.\* For that it might not appear that the place was betrayed to him, he ordered the Brutians to be put first to the sword. But he failed in his design ; for the former suspicion still remained, and he incurred, besides, the reproach of perfidy and inhumanity. Many of the Tarentines also were killed ; thirty thousand of them were sold for slaves ; the army had the plunder of the town, and three thousand talents were brought into the public treasury. Whilst every thing was ransacked, and the spoils were heaped before Fabius, it is reported that the officer who took the inventory, asked “ What he would have them do with the gods ? ” meaning the statues and pictures : Fabius answered, “ Let us leave the Tarentines their angry gods.”† However, he carried away a *colossus* of Hercules, which he afterwards set up in the Capitol, and near it an

\* Livy does not say, that Fabius gave such orders. He only says, “ There were many Brutians slain, either through ignorance, or through the ancient hatred which the Romans bore them, or because the Romans were desirous that Tarentum should seem to be taken sword in hand, rather than betrayed to them.”

† The gods were in the attitude of combatants ; and they appeared to have fought against the Tarentines.



equestrian statue of himself in brass.\* Thus he showed himself inferior to Marcellus in his taste for the fine arts, and still more so in mercy and humanity. Marcellus in this respect had greatly the advantage, as we have already observed in his life.

Hannibal had hastened to the relief of Tarentum, and being within five miles of it, when it was taken, he scrupled not to say publicly, "The Romans, too, have their Hannibal; for we have lost Tarentum in the same manner that we gained it." And in private he then first acknowledged to his friends, "That he had always thought it difficult, but now saw it was impossible, with the forces he had, to conquer Italy."

Fabius for this was honoured with a triumph, more splendid than the former, having gloriously maintained the field against Hannibal, and baffled all his schemes with ease, just as an able wrestler disengages himself from the arms of his antagonist, whose grasp no longer retains the same vigour. For Hannibal's army was now partly enervated with opulence and luxury, and partly impaired and worn with continual action.

Marcus Livius, who commanded in Tarentum, when it was betrayed to Hannibal retired into the citadel, and held it till the town was retaken by the Romans. This officer beheld with pain the honours conferred upon Fabius, and one day his envy and vanity drew from him this expression in the senate, "I, not Fabius, was the cause of recovering Tarentum." "True," said Fabius laughing, "for if you had not lost the town, I had never recovered it."

Among other honours which the Romans paid to Fabius, they elected his son consul.† When he had entered upon his office, and was settling some point relating to the war, the father, either on ac-

\* The work of Lysippus.

† The son was elected consul four years before the father took Tarentum.



count of his age and infirmities, or else to try his son, mounted his horse, to ride up to him. The young consul, seeing him at a distance, would not suffer it, but sent one of the *lictors* to his father with orders for him to dismount, and to come on foot to the consul, if he had any occasion to apply to him. The whole assembly were moved at this, and cast their eyes upon Fabius, by their silence and their looks expressing their resentment of the indignity offered to a person of his character. But he instantly alighted, and ran to his son, and embraced him with great tenderness. "My son," said he, "I applaud your sentiments and your behaviour. You know what a people you command, and have a just sense of the dignity of your office. This was the way that we and our forefathers took to advance Rome to her present height of glory, always considering the honour and interest of our country before that of our own fathers and children."

And indeed it is reported that the great grandfather of our Fabius,\* though he was one of the greatest men in Rome, whether we consider his reputation or authority, though he had been five times consul, and had been honoured with several glorious triumphs on account of his success in wars of the last importance, yet condescended to serve as lieutenant to his son then consul,† in an expedition against the Samnites: and while his son, in the triumph which was decreed him, drove into Rome in a chariot and four, he with others followed him on horseback. Thus, while he had authority over his son, considered as a private man, and while he was, both especially and reputedly the most considerable member of the commonwealth, yet he gloried in showing his subjection to the laws and to the magis-

\* Fabius Rullus.

† Fabius Gurgus, who had been defeated by the Samnites, and would have been degraded, had not his father promised to attend him in his second expedition as his lieutenant



trate. Nor was this the only part of his character that deserves to be admired.

When Fabius Maximus had the misfortune to lose his son, he bore that loss with great moderation, as became a wise man and a good father: and the funeral oration,\* which on occasion of the deaths of illustrious men is usually pronounced by some near kinsman, he delivered himself; and having committed it to writing, made it public.

When Publius Cornelius Scipio, who was sent proconsul into Spain, had defeated the Carthaginians in many battles, and driven them out of that province; and when he had, moreover, reduced several towns and nations under the obedience of Rome, on returning loaded with spoil, he was received with great acclamations and general joy. Being appointed consul, and finding that the people expected something great and striking at his hands, he considered it as an antiquated method and worthy only of the inactivity of an old man, to watch the motions of Hannibal in Italy; and therefore determined to remove the seat of war from thence into Africa, to fill the enemy's country with his legions, to extend his ravages far and wide, and to attempt Carthage itself. With this view he exerted all his talents to bring the people into his design. But Fabius, on this occasion, filled the city with alarms, as if the commonwealth was going to be brought into the most extreme danger by a rash and indiscreet young man; in short, he scrupled not to do or say any thing he thought likely to dissuade his countrymen from embracing the proposal. With the senate he

\* Cicero, in his treatise on old age, speaks in high terms, both of Fabius and this oration of his, "Many extraordinary things have I known in that man, but nothing more admirable than the manner in which he bore the death of his son, a person of great merit and of consular dignity. His elogium is in our hands; and while we read it, do we not look down on the best of the philosophers?"



carried his point.\* But the people believing that his opposition to Scipio proceeded either from envy of his success, or from a secret fear that if this young hero should perform some signal exploit, put an end to the war, or even remove it out of Italy, his own slow proceedings through the course of so many years, might be imputed to indolence or timidity.

To me Fabius seems at first to have opposed the measures of Scipio, from an excess of caution and prudence, and to have really thought the danger attending his project great; but in the progress of the opposition, I think he went too great lengths, misled by ambition and a jealousy of Scipio's rising glory. For he applied to Crassus, the colleague of Scipio, and endeavoured to persuade him not to yield that province to Scipio, but, if he thought it proper to conduct the war in that manner, to go himself against Carthage.† Nay, he even hindered the raising of money for that expedition: so that Scipio was obliged to find the supplies as he could: and he effected it through his interest with the cities of Hetruria, which were wholly devoted to him.‡ As for Crassus, he stayed at home, partly induced to it by his disposition, which was mild and peaceful, and partly by the care of religion, which was entrusted to him as high-priest.

Fabius, therefore, took another method to traverse the design. He endeavoured to prevent the young men who offered to go volunteers from giving in their names, and loudly declared both in the senate

\* See the debates in the senate on that occasion, in Livy, ab. xxviii.

† This Crassus could not do: for being *Pontifex Maximus*, it was necessary that he should remain in Italy.

‡ Scipio was empowered to ask of the allies all things necessary for building and equipping a new fleet. And many of the provinces and cities voluntarily taxed themselves to furnish him with corn, iron, timber, cloth for sails, &c. so that in forty days after the cutting of the timber, he was in a condition to set sail with a fleet of thirty new galleys, besides the thirty he had before. There went with him about seven thousand volunteers.



and *forum*, “That Scipio did not only himself avoid Hannibal, but intended to carry away with him the remaining strength of Italy, persuading the young men to abandon their parents, their wives, and native city, whilst an unsubdued and potent enemy was still at their doors.” With these assertions he so terrified the people, that they allowed Scipio to take with him only the legions that were in Sicily, and three hundred of those men who had served him with so much fidelity in Spain. In this particular Fabius seems to have followed the dictates of his own cautious temper.

After Scipio was gone over into Africa, an account was soon brought to Rome, of his glorious and wonderful achievements. This account was followed by rich spoils, which confirmed it. A Numidian king was taken prisoner; two camps were burned and destroyed, and in them a vast number of men, arms, and horses; and the Carthaginians sent orders to Hannibal to quit his fruitless hopes in Italy, and return home to defend his own country. Whilst every tongue was applauding these exploits of Scipio, Fabius proposed that his successor should be appointed, without any shadow or reason for it, except what this well-known maxim implies, *viz.* “That it is dangerous to trust affairs of such importance to the fortune of one man, because it is not likely that he will be always successful.”

By this he offended the people, who now considered him as a captious and envious man; or as one whose courage and hopes were lost in the dregs of years, and who therefore looked upon Hannibal as much more formidable than he really was. Nay, even when Hannibal embarked his army and quitted Italy, Fabius ceased not to disturb the general joy and to damp the spirits of Rome. For he took the liberty to affirm, “That the commonwealth was now come to her last and worst trial; that she had the



most reason to dread the efforts of Hannibal when he should arrive in Africa, and attack her sons under the walls of Carthage ; that Scipio would have to do with an army yet warm with the blood of so many Roman generals, dictators, and consuls." The city was alarmed with these declarations, and though the war was removed into Africa, the danger seemed to approach nearer Rome than ever.

However, soon after, Scipio defeated Hannibal in a pitched battle, pulled down the pride of Carthage and trod it under foot. This afforded the Romans a pleasure beyond all their hopes, and restored a firmness to their empire, which had been shaken with so many tempests. But Fabius Maximus did not live to the end of the war, to hear of the overthrow of Hannibal, or to see the prosperity of his country re-established : for about the time that Hannibal left Italy, he fell sick and died. We are assured, that Epaminondas died so poor, that the Thebans buried him at the public charge ; for at his death nothing was found in his house but an iron spit.\* The expense of Fabius's funeral was not indeed defrayed out of the Roman treasury, but every citizen contributed a small piece of money towards it ; not that he died without effects, but that they might bury him as the father of the people : and that the honours paid him at his death might be suitable to the dignity of his life.

\* Xylander is of opinion, that the word *ὀβελισκος* in this place does not signify a *spit* but a *piece of money* ; and he shows from a passage in the life of Lysander, that money anciently was made in a pyramidical form. But he did not consider that the iron money was not in use at Thebes, and Plutarch says that this obeliscus was of iron.



PERICLES AND FABIVS MAXIMVS  
COMPARED.

SUCH were the lives of these two persons, so illustrious and worthy of imitation both in their civil and military capacity. We shall first compare their talents for war. And here it strikes us at once, that Pericles came into power at a time when the Athenians were at the height of prosperity, great in themselves, and respectable to their neighbours: so that in the very strength of the republic, with only common success, he was secure from taking any disgraceful step. But as Fabius came to the helm, when Rome experienced the worst and most mortifying turn of fortune, he had not to preserve the well established prosperity of a flourishing state, but to draw his country from an abyss of misery, and raise it to happiness. Besides, the successes of Cimon, the victories of Myronides and Leocrates, and the many great achievements of Tolmides, rather furnished occasion to Pericles, during his administration, to entertain the city with feasts and games, than to make new acquisitions, or to defend the old ones by arms. On the other hand, Fabius had the frightful objects before his eyes of defeat, and disgraces, of Roman consuls and generals slain, of lakes, fields, and forests full of the dead carcasses of whole armies, and of rivers flowing with blood down to the very sea. In this tottering and decayed condition of the commonwealth, he was to support it by his councils and his vigour, and to keep it from falling into absolute ruin, to which it was brought so near by the errors of former commanders.

It may seem, indeed, a less arduous performance to manage the tempers of a people humbled by calamities, and compelled by necessity to listen to rea-



son, than to restrain the wildness and insolence of a city elated with success, and wanton with power, such as Athens was when Pericles held the reins of government. But then, undauntedly to keep to his first resolutions, and not to be discomposed by the vast weight of misfortunes with which Rome was then oppressed, discovers in Fabius an admirable firmness and dignity of mind.

Against the taking of Samos by Pericles, we may set the retaking of Tarentum by Fabius; and with Eubœa we may put in balance the towns of Campania. As for Capua, it was recovered afterwards by the consuls Furius and Appius. Fabius, indeed, gained but one set battle, for which he had his first triumph; whereas Pericles erected nine trophies for as many victories won by land and sea. But none of the victories of Pericles can be compared with that memorable rescue of Minucius, by which Fabius redeemed him and his whole army from utter destruction: an action truly great, and in which you find at once the bright assemblage of valour, of prudence, and humanity. Nor can Pericles, on the other hand, be said ever to have committed such an error as that of Fabius, when he suffered himself to be imposed on by Hannibal's stratagem of the oxen; let his enemy slip in the night through those straits in which he had been entangled by accident, and where he could not possibly have forced his way out; and as soon as it was day, saw himself repulsed by the man who so lately was at his mercy.

If it is the part of a good general, not only to make a proper use of the present, but also to form the best judgment of things to come, it must be allowed that Pericles both foresaw and foretold what success the Athenians would have in the war, namely, that they would ruin themselves, by grasping at too much. But it was entirely against the opinion of Fabius, that the Romans sent Scipio into Africa, and yet they were victorious there; not by the fa-



your of fortune, but by the courage and conduct of their general. So that the misfortunes of his country bore witness to the sagacity of Pericles; and from the glorious success of the Romans, it appeared that Fabius was utterly mistaken. And, indeed, it is an equal fault in a commander in chief, to lose an advantage through diffidence, and to fall into danger for want of foresight. For it is the same want of judgment and skill, that sometimes produces too much confidence, and sometimes leaves too little. Thus far concerning their abilities in war.

And if we consider them in their political capacity, we shall find that the greatest fault laid to the charge of Pericles, was, that he caused the Peloponnesian war, through opposition to the Lacedæmonians, which made him unwilling to give up the least point to them. I do not suppose that Fabius Maximus would have given up any point to the Carthaginians, but that he would generously have run the last risk to maintain the dignity of Rome.

The mild and moderate behaviour of Fabius to Minucius, sets in a very disadvantageous light the conduct of Pericles, in his implacable persecution of Cimon and Thucydides, valuable men, and friends to the aristocracy, and yet banished by his practices and intrigues.

Besides, the power of Pericles was much greater than that of Fabius; and therefore he did not suffer any misfortune to be brought upon Athens by the wrong measures of other generals. Tolmides only carried it against him for attacking the Bœotians, and in doing it, he was defeated and slain. All the rest adhered to his party, and submitted to his opinion, on account of his superior authority, whereas Fabius, whose measures were salutary and safe, as far as they depended upon himself, appears only to have fallen short, by his inability to prevent the miscarriages of others. For the Romans would not have had so many misfortunes to deplore, if the



power of Fabius had been as great in Rome, as that of Pericles in Athens.

As to their liberality and public spirit, Pericles showed it in refusing the sums that were offered him, and Fabius in ransoming his soldiers with his own money. This, indeed, was no great expense, being only about six talents.\* But it is not easy to say what a treasure Pericles might have amassed from the allies, and from kings who made their court to him, on account of his great authority; yet no man ever kept himself more free from corruption.

As for the temples, the public edifices, and other works, with which Pericles adorned Athens, all the structures of that kind in Rome put together, until the times of the Cæsars, deserved not to be compared with them, either in the greatness of the design, or the excellence of the execution.

### ALCIBIADES.

THOSE that have searched into the pedigree of Alcibiades, say, that Eurysaces, the son of Ajax, was founder of the family; and that by his mother's side he was descended from Alcmaeon: for Dinomache, his mother, was the daughter of Megacles, who was of that line. His father Clinias gained great honour in the sea-fight of Artemisium, where he fought in a galley fitted out at his own expense, and after-

\* Probably this is an error of the transcribers. For Fabius was to pay two hundred and fifty drachmas for each prisoner, and he ransomed two hundred and forty-seven; which would stand him in sixty-one thousand seven hundred and fifty drachmas, that is more than ten talents; a very considerable expense to Fabius, which he could not answer without selling his estate.



wards was slain in the battle of Coronæ, where the Bœotians won the day. Pericles and Aripbron, the sons of Xanthippus, and near relations to Alcibiades, were his guardians. It is said, (and not without reason) that the affection and attachment of Socrates contributed much to his fame. For Nicias, Demosthenes, Lamachus, Phormio, Thrasybulus, Theramenes, were illustrious persons, and his contemporaries, yet we do not so much as know the name of the mother of either of them; whereas we know even the nurse of Alcibiades, that she was of Lacedæmon, and that her name was Amycla; as well as that Zopyrus was his school-master; the one being recorded by Antisthenes, and the other by Plato.

As to the beauty of Alcibiades, it may be sufficient to say, that it retained its charm through the several stages of childhood, youth, and manhood. For it is not universally true, what Euripides says,

The very autumn of a form once fine  
Retains its beauties.

Yet this was the case of Alcibiades, amongst a few others, by reason of his natural vigour and happy constitution.

He had a lisping in his speech, which became him, and gave a grace and persuasive turn to his discourse. Aristophanes, in those verses wherein he ridicules Theoras, takes notice, that Alcibiades lisped, for instead of calling him *Corax*, *Raven*, he called him *Colax*, *Flatterer*; from whence the poet takes occasion to observe, that the term in that lisping pronunciation, too, was very applicable to him. With this agrees the satirical description which Archippus gives of the son of Alcibiades:

With sauntering step, to imitate his father,  
The vain youth moves; his loose robe wildly floats;  
He bends the neck: he lisps.



His manners were far from being uniform : nor is it strange, that they varied according to the many vicissitudes and wonderful turns of his fortune. He was naturally a man of strong passions ; but his ruling passion was an ambition to contend and overcome. This appears from what is related of his sayings when a boy. When hard pressed in wrestling, to prevent his being thrown, he bit the hands of his antagonist, who let go his hold, and said, " You bite, Alcibiades, like a woman." " No," says he, " like a lion."

One day, he was playing at dice with other boys, in the street ; and when it came to his turn to throw, a loaded waggon came up. At first he called to the driver to stop, because he was to throw in the way over which the waggon was to pass. The rustic disregarding him and driving on, the other boys broke away ; but Alcibiades threw himself upon his face directly before the waggon, and stretching himself out, bade the fellow drive on if he pleased. Upon this, he was so startled that he stopped his horses, while those that saw it ran up to him with terror.

In the course of his education, he willingly took the lessons of his other masters, but refused learning to play upon the flute, which he looked upon as a mean art, and unbecoming a gentleman. " The use of the *plectrum* upon the lyre," he would say, " has nothing in it that disorders the features or form, but a man is hardly to be known by his most intimate friends when he plays upon the flute. Besides, the lyre does not hinder the performer from speaking or accompanying it with a song ; whereas the flute so engages the mouth and the breath, that it leaves no possibility of speaking. Therefore, let the Theban youth pipe, who know not how to discourse ; but we Athenians, according to the account of our ancestors, have Minerva for our patroness, and Apollo for our protector, one of whom threw



away the flute, and the other stripped off the man's skin who played upon it."\* Thus, partly by raillery, and partly by argument, Alcibiades kept both himself and others from learning to play upon the flute: for it soon became the talk among the young men of condition, that Alcibiades was right in holding that art in abomination, and ridiculing those that practised it. Thus it lost its place in the number of liberal accomplishments, and was universally exploded.

In the invective which Antipho wrote against Alcibiades, one story is, that when a boy he ran away from his guardians to one of his friends named Democrates: and that Aripbron would have had proclamation made for him, had not Pericles diverted him from it, by saying, "If he is dead, we shall only find him one day the sooner for it; if he is safe, it will be a reproach to him as long as he lives." Another story is, that he killed one of his servants with a stroke of his stick, in Sibyrtius's place of exercise. But, perhaps, we should not give entire credit to these things, which were professedly written by an enemy, to defame him.

Many persons of rank made their court to Alcibiades, but it is evident that they were charmed and attracted by the beauty of his person. Socrates was the only one whose regards were fixed upon the mind, and bore witness to the young man's virtue and ingenuity; the rays of which he could distinguish through his fine form. And fearing lest the pride of riches and high rank, and the crowd of flatterers, both Athenians and strangers, should corrupt him, he used his best endeavours to prevent it, and took care that so hopeful a plant should not lose its fruit and perish in the very flower. If ever fortune so enclosed and fortified a man with what are called her goods, as to render him inaccessible to the inci-

\* Marsyas.



sion-knife of philosophy, and the searching-probe of free advice, surely it was Alcibiades. From the first he was surrounded with pleasures, and a multitude of admirers determined to say nothing but what they thought would please, and to keep him from all admonition and reproof; yet, by his native penetration, he distinguished the value of Socrates, and attached himself to him, rejecting the rich and great who sued for his regard.

With Socrates he soon entered into the closest intimacy; and finding that he did not, like the rest of the unmanly crew, want improper favours, but that he studied to correct the errors of his heart, and to cure him of his empty and foolish arrogance,

Then his crest fell, and all his pride was gone,  
He droop'd the conquer'd wing.

In fact, he considered the discipline of Socrates as a provision from heaven for the preservation and benefit of youth. Thus despising himself, admiring his friend, adoring his wisdom, and revering his virtue, he insensibly formed in his heart the image of love, or rather came under the influence of that power, who, as Plato says, secures his votaries from vicious love. It surprised all the world to see him constantly sup with Socrates, take with him the exercise of wrestling, lodge in the same tent with him; while to his other admirers he was reserved and rough. Nay, to some he behaved with great insolence, to Anytus (for instance) the son of Anthemion. Anytus was very fond of him, and happening to make an entertainment for some strangers, he desired Alcibiades to give him his company. Alcibiades would not accept of the invitation, but having drank deep with some of his acquaintance at his own house, he went thither to play some frolic. The frolic was this: He stood at the door of the room where the guests were entertained, and seeing a

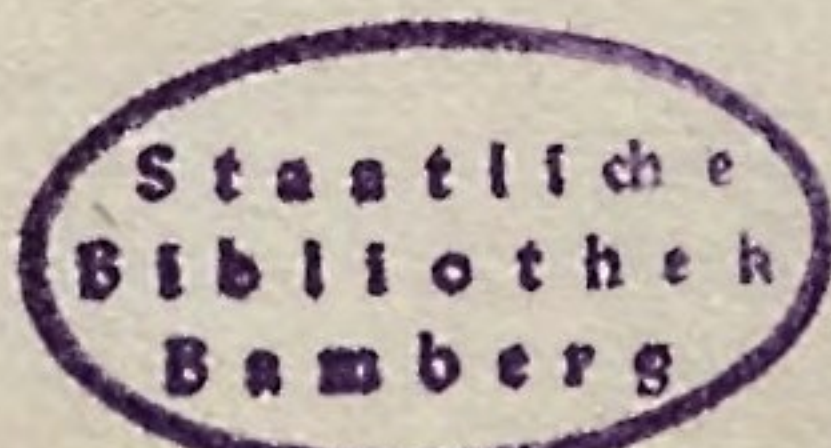


great number of gold and silver cups upon the table, he ordered his servants to take half of them, and carry them to his own house;\* and then, not vouchsafing so much as to enter into the room himself, as soon as he had done this, he went away. The company resented the affront, and said, he had behaved very rudely and insolently to Anytus. "Not at all," said Anytus, "but rather kindly, since he has left us half, when he knew it was in his power to take the whole."

He behaved in the same manner to his other admirers, except only one stranger. This man (they tell us) was but in indifferent circumstances; for when he had sold all, he could make up no more than the sum of one hundred *staters*;† which he carried to Alcibiades, and begged of him to accept it. Alcibiades was pleased at the thing, and smiling, invited him to supper. After a kind reception and entertainment, he gave him the gold again, but required him to be present the next day, when the public revenues were to be offered to farm, and to be sure and be the highest bidder. The man endeavouring to excuse himself, because the rent would be many talents, Alcibiades, who had a private pique against the old farmers, threatened to have him beaten if he refused. Next morning, therefore, the stranger appeared in the market-place, and

\* Athenæus says, he did not keep them himself, but having taken them from this man, who was rich, he gave them to Thrasylus, who was poor.

† The *stater* was a coin which weighed four Attic drachmas, and was either of gold or silver. The silver was worth about two shillings and sixpence sterling. The *stater daricus*, a gold coin, was worth twelve shillings and three-pence halfpenny: but the Attic *stater* of gold must be worth much more, if we reckon the proportion of gold to silver only at ten to one, as it was then: whereas now it is about sixteen to one. Dacier, then, is greatly mistaken, when he says the *stater* here mentioned by Plutarch was worth only forty French sols; for Plutarch says expressly, that these *staters* were of gold.





offered a talent more than the former rent. The farmers, uneasy and angry at this, called upon him to name his security, supposing that he could not find any. The poor man was indeed much startled and going to retire with shame, when Alcibiades, who stood at some distance, cried out to the magistrates, "Set down my name; he is my friend, and I will be his security." When the old farmers of the revenue heard this, they were much perplexed; for their way was, with the profits of the present year to pay the rent of the preceding; so that seeing no other way to extricate themselves out of the difficulty, they applied to the stranger in an humble strain, and offered him money. But Alcibiades would not suffer him to take less than a talent, which accordingly was paid. Having done him this service, he told him he might relinquish his bargain.

Though Socrates had many rivals, yet he kept possession of Alcibiades's heart by the excellence of his genius and the pathetic turn of his conversation, which often drew tears from his young companion. And though sometimes he gave Socrates the slip, and was drawn away by his flatterers, who exhausted all the art of pleasure for that purpose, yet the philosopher took care to hunt out his fugitive, who feared and respected none but him; the rest he held in great contempt. Hence that saying of Cleanthes, Socrates gains Alcibiades by the ear, and leaves to his rivals other parts of his body, with which he scorns to meddle. In fact, Alcibiades was very capable of being led by the allurements of pleasure; and what Thucydides says concerning his excesses in his way of living, gives occasion to believe so. Those who endeavoured to corrupt him attacked him on a still weaker side, his vanity and love of distinction, and led him into vast designs and unseasonable projects, persuading him, that as soon as he should apply himself to the management of public affairs, he would



not only eclipse the other generals and orators, but surpass even Pericles himself, in point of reputation as well as interest with the powers of Greece. But as iron, when softened by the fire, is soon hardened again and brought to a proper temper by cold water, so when Alcibiades was enervated by luxury, or swoln with pride, Socrates corrected and brought him to himself by his discourses ; for from them he learned the number of his defects and the imperfection of his virtue.

When he was past his childhood, happening to go into a grammar-school, he asked the master for a volume of Homer ; and upon his making answer that he had nothing of Homer's, he gave him a box on the ear, and so left him. Another schoolmaster telling him he had Homer corrected by himself : "How !" said Alcibiades, "and do you employ your time in teaching children to read ? you who are able to correct Homer, might seem to be fit to instruct men."

One day wanting to speak to Pericles, he went to his house, and being told there that he was busied in considering how to give in his accounts to the people, and therefore not at leisure ; he said as he went away, "He had better consider how to avoid giving in any account at all."

Whilst he was yet a youth, he made the campaign at Potidæa, where Socrates lodged in the same tent with him, and was his companion in every engagement. In the principal battle they both behaved with great gallantry ; but Alcibiades at last falling down wounded, Socrates advanced to defend him, which he did effectually in the sight of the whole army, saving both him and his arms. For this the prize of valour was certainly due to Socrates, yet the generals inclined to give it Alcibiades on account of his quality ; and Socrates, willing to encourage his thirst after true glory, was the first who gave his suffrage for him, and pressed them to adjudge him



the crown and the complete suit of armour. On the other hand, at the battle of Delium, where the Athenians were routed,\* and Socrates, with a few others, was retreating on foot, Alcibiades observing it, did not pass him, but covered his retreat, and brought him safe off, though the enemy pressed furiously forward, and killed great numbers of the Athenians. But this happened a considerable time after.

To Hipponicus, the father of Callias, a man respectable both for his birth and fortune, Alcibiades one day gave a box on the ear; not that he had any quarrel with him or was heated by passion, but purely because, in a wanton frolic, he had agreed with his companions to do so. The whole city being full of the story of this insolence, and every body (as it was natural to expect,) expressing some resentment, early next morning Alcibiades went to wait on Hipponicus, knocked at the door, and was admitted. As soon as he came into his presence, he stripped off his garment, and presenting his naked body, desired him to beat and chastise him as he pleased. But instead of that Hipponicus pardoned him, and forgot all his resentment; nay, some time after, he even gave him his daughter Hipparete in marriage. Some say it was not Hipponicus, but his son Callias, who gave Hipparete to Alcibiades, with ten talents to her portion; and that when she brought him a child he demanded ten talents more, as if he had taken her on that condition. Though this was but a groundless pretence, yet Callias, apprehensive of some bad consequence from his artful contrivances, in a full assembly of the people declared, that if he should happen to die without children, Alcibiades should be his heir.

\* Laches, as introduced by Plato, tells us, that if others had done their duty as Socrates did his, the Athenians would not have been defeated in the battle of Delium. That battle was fought the first year of the eighty-ninth olympiad, eight years after the battle of Potidæa.



Hipparete made a prudent and affectionate wife; but at last growing very uneasy at her husband's associating with such a number of courtezans, both strangers and Athenians, she quitted his house and went to her brother's. Alcibiades went on with his debaucheries, and gave himself no pain about his wife; but it was necessary for her, in order to a legal separation, to give in a bill of divorce to the archon, and to appear personally with it; for the sending of it by another hand would not do. When she came to do this according to law, Alcibiades rushed in, caught her in his arms, and carried her through the market-place to his own house, no one presuming to oppose him, or to take her from him. From that time she remained with him until her death, which happened not long after, when Alcibiades was upon his voyage to Ephesus. Nor does the violence used, in this case, seem to be contrary to the laws either of society in general, or of that republic in particular. For the law of Athens, in requiring her who wants to be divorced to appear publicly in person, probably intended to give the husband an opportunity to meet with her and to recover her.

Alcibiades had a dog of an uncommon size and beauty, which cost him seventy *minæ*, and yet his tail, which was his principal ornament, he caused to be cut off. Some of his acquaintance found great fault with his acting so strangely, and told him, that all Athens rung with the story of his foolish treatment of the dog: at which he laughed and said, "This is the very thing I wanted; for I would have the Athenians talk of this, lest they should find something worse to say of me."

The first thing that made him popular, and introduced him into the administration, was his distributing of money, not by design, but accident. Seeing one day a great crowd of people as he was walking along, he asked what it meant; and being informed there was a donative made to the people, he distri-



buted money too, as he went in amongst them. This meeting with great applause, he was so much delighted, that he forgot a quail which he had under his robe,\* and the bird, frightened with the noise, flew away. Upon this, the people set up still louder acclamations, and many of them assisted him to recover the quail. The man who did catch it, and bring it to him, was one Antiochus,† a pilot, for whom he had ever after a particular regard.

He had great advantages for introducing himself into the management of public affairs, from his birth, his estate, his personal valour, and the number of his friends and relations: but what he chose above all the rest to recommend himself by to the people, was the charms of his eloquence. That he was a fine speaker the comic writers bear witness; and so does the prince of orators, in his oration against Midias,‡ where he says that Alcibiades was the most eloquent man of his time. And if we believe Theophrastus, a curious searcher into antiquity, and more versed in history than the other philosophers, Alcibiades had a peculiar happiness of invention, and readiness of ideas, which eminently distinguished him. But as his care was employed not only upon the matter but the expression, and he had not the greatest facility in the latter, he often hesitated in the midst of a

\* It was the fashion in those days to breed quails. Plato reports, that Socrates having brought Alcibiades to acknowledge, that the way to rise to distinction among the Athenians, was, to study to excel the generals of their enemies, replied with this severe irony, "No, no, Alcibiades; your only study is how to surpass Midias in the art of breeding quails."—PLATO in 1 Alcib.

† The name of the man who caught the quail would hardly have been mentioned, had not Alcibiades afterwards entrusted him with the command of the fleet in his absence; when he took the opportunity to fight, and was beaten.

‡ It appears from that passage of Demosthenes, that he spoke only from common fame, and consequently that there was little of Alcibiades's then extant. We find some remains of his oratory in Thucydides.



speech, not hitting upon the word he wanted, and stopping until it occurred to him.

He was famed for his breed of horses and the number of chariots. For no one besides himself, whether private person or king, ever sent seven chariots at one time to the Olympic games. The first, the second, and the fourth prizes, according to Thucydides, or the third, as Euripides relates it, he bore away at once, which exceeds every thing performed by the most ambitious in that way. Euripides thus celebrates his success :

Great son of Clinias, I record thy glory,  
First on the dusty plain  
The threefold prize to gain :  
What hero boasts thy praise in Grecian story ?  
Twice\* does the trumpet's voice proclaim  
Aloud the plausive cirque thy honour'd name :  
Twice on thy brow was seen  
The peaceful olive's green,  
The glorious palm of easy purchased fame.†

The emulation which several Grecian cities expressed, in the presents they made him, gave a still greater lustre to his success. Ephesus provided a magnificent pavilion for him; Chios was at the ex-

\* Alcibiades won the first, second, and third prizes in person; besides which his chariots won twice in his absence.

† Antisthenes, a disciple of Socrates, writes, that Chios fed his horses, and Cycious provided his victims. The passage is remarkable, for we learn from it that this was done, not only when Alcibiades went to the Olympic games, but in his warlike expeditions, and even in his travels. "Whenever," says he, "Alcibiades travelled, four cities ministered to him as his handmaids. Ephesus furnished him with tents as sumptuous as those of the Persians; Chios found provender for his horses; Cyzicus supplied him with victims and provisions for his table; and Lesbos with wine and all other necessities for his household." None but opulent cities were able to answer such expense: for at the time when Alcibiades won the three prizes in person at the Olympic games, after he had offered a very costly sacrifice to Jupiter, he entertained at a magnificent repast that innumerable company which had assisted at the games.



pense of keeping his horses and beasts for sacrifice ; and Lesbos found him in wine and every thing necessary for the most elegant public table. Yet, amidst this success, he escaped not without censure, occasioned either by the malice of his enemies, or by his own misconduct. It seems there was at Athens one Diomedes, a man of good character and friend of Alcibiades, who was very desirous of winning a prize at the Olympic games ; and being informed that there was a chariot to be sold, which belonged to the city of Argos, where Alcibiades had a strong interest, he persuaded him to buy it for him. Accordingly he did buy it, but kept it for himself, leaving Diomedes to vent his rage, and to call gods and men to bear witness of the injustice. For this there seems to have been an action brought against him ; and there is extant an oration concerning a chariot, written by Isocrates, in defence of Alcibiades, then a youth ; but there the plaintiff is named Tisius, not Diomedes.

Alcibiades was very young when he first applied himself to the business of the republic, and yet he soon showed himself superior to the other orators. The persons capable of standing in some degree of competition with him, were Phæax the son of Erasistratus, and Nicias the son of Niceratus. The latter was advanced in years, and one of the best generals of his time. The former was but a youth, like himself, just beginning to make his way ; for which he had the advantage of high birth ; but in other respects, as well as in the art of speaking, was inferior to Alcibiades. He seemed fitter for soliciting and persuading in private, than for stemming the torrent of a public debate ; in short, he was one of those of whom Eupolis says, " True, he can talk, and yet he is no speaker." There is extant an oration against Alcibiades and Phæax, in which, amongst other things, it is alleged against Alcibiades, that he used at his table many of the gold and silver



vessels provided for the sacred processions, as if they had been his own.

There was at Athens one Hyperbolus, of the ward of Perithois, whom Thucydides makes mention of as a very bad man, and who was a constant subject of ridicule for the comic writers. But he was unconcerned at the worst things they could say of him, and being regardless of honour, he was also insensible of shame. This, though really impudence and folly, is by some people called fortitude and a noble daring. But, though no one liked him, the people nevertheless made use of him, when they wanted to strike at persons in authority. At his instigation, the Athenians were ready to proceed to the ban of *ostracism*, by which they pull down and expel such of the citizens as are distinguished by their dignity and power, therein consulting their envy rather than their fear.

As it was evident, that this sentence was levelled against one of the three, Phæax, Nicias, or Alcibiades, the latter took care to unite the contending parties, and leaguings with Nicias, caused the *ostracism* to fall upon Hyperbolus himself. Some say, it was not Nicias, but Phæax, with whom Alcibiades joined interest, and by whose assistance he expelled their common enemy, when he expected nothing less. For no vile or infamous person had ever undergone that punishment. So Plato, the comic poet, assures us, thus speaking of Hyperbolus :

Well had the caitiff earned his banishment,  
But not by ostracism ; that sentence sacred  
To dangerous eminence.

But we have elsewhere given a more full account of what history has delivered down to us concerning this matter.\*

\* In the lives of Aristides and Nicias.



Alcibiades was not less disturbed at the great esteem in which Nicias was held by the enemies of Athens, than at the respect which the Athenians themselves paid him. The rights of hospitality had long subsisted between the family of Alcibiades and the Lacedæmonians, and he had taken particular care of such of them as were made prisoners at Pylos; yet when they found that it was chiefly by the means of Nicias that they obtained a peace and recovered the captives, their regards centred in him. It was a common observation among the Greeks, that Pericles had engaged them in a war, and Nicias had set them free from it; nay, the peace was even called the Nician peace. Alcibiades was very uneasy at this, and out of envy of Nicias, determined to break the league.

As soon then as he perceived that the people of Argos both feared and hated the Spartans, and consequently wanted to get clear of all connexion with them, he privately gave them hopes of assistance from Athens; and both by his agents and in person, he encouraged the principal citizens not to entertain any fear, or to give up any point, but to apply to the Athenians, who were almost ready to repent of the peace they had made, and would soon seek occasion to break it.

But after the Lacedæmonians had entered into alliance with the Bœotians, and had delivered Panactus to the Athenians, not with its fortifications, as they ought to have done, but quite dismantled, he took the opportunity, while the Athenians were incensed at this proceeding, to inflame them still more. At the same time he raised a clamour against Nicias, alleging things which had a face of probability; for he reproached him with having neglected, when commander in chief, to make that\* party prisoners

\* After the Lacedæmonians had lost the fort of Pylos in Messenia, they left in the isle of Sphacteria, which was opposite that



who were left by the enemy in Sphacteria, and with releasing them, when taken by others, to ingratiate himself with the Lacedæmonians. He farther asserted, that though Nicias had an interest with the Lacedæmonians, he would not make use of it to prevent their entering into the confederacy with the Bœotians and Corinthians; but that when an alliance was offered to the Athenians by any of the Grecian states, he took care to prevent their accepting it, if it were likely to give umbrage to the Lacedæmonians.

Nicias was greatly disconcerted; but at that very juncture it happened that ambassadors from Lacedæmon arrived with moderate proposals, and declared that they had full powers to treat and decide all differences in an equitable way. The senate was satisfied, and next day the people were to be convened: but Alcibiades, dreading the success of that audience, found means to speak with the ambassadors in the mean time; and thus he addressed them: "Men of Lacedæmon! what is it you are going to do? Are not you apprized that the behaviour of the senate is always candid and humane to those who apply to it, whereas the people are haughty and expect great concessions? If you say that you are come with full powers, you will find them intractable

fort, a garrison of three hundred and twenty men, besides Helots, under the command of Epitades the son of Molobrus. The Athenians would have sent Nicias, while commander in chief, with a fleet against that island, but he excused himself. Afterwards Cleon, in conjunction with Demosthenes, got possession of it, after a long dispute, wherein several of the garrison were slain, and the rest made prisoners, and sent to Athens. Among those prisoners were an hundred and twenty Spartans, who by the assistance of Nicias got released. The Lacedæmonians afterwards recovered the fort of Pylos: for Anytus, who was sent with a squadron to support it, finding the wind directly against it, returned to Athens; upon which the people, according to their usual custom, condemned him to die; which sentence, however, he commuted by paying a vast sum of money, being the first who reversed a judgment in that manner.



and extravagant in their demands. Come, then, retract that impudent declaration, and if you desire to keep the Athenians within the bounds of reason, and not to have terms extorted from you, which you cannot approve, treat with them as if you had not a discretionary commission. I will use my best endeavours in favour of the Lacedæmonians." He confirmed his promise with an oath, and thus drew them over from Nicias to himself. In Alcibiades they now placed an entire confidence, admiring both his understanding and address in business, and regarding him as a very extraordinary man.

Next day the people assembled, and the ambassadors were introduced. Alcibiades asked them in an obliging manner, what their commission was, and they answered, that they did not come as plenipotentiaries. Then he began to rave and storm, as if he had received an injury, not done one; and calling them faithless, prevaricating men, who were come neither to do nor to say any thing honourable. The senate was incensed; the people were enraged; and Nicias, who was ignorant of the deceitful contrivance of Alcibiades, was filled with astonishment and confusion at this change.

The proposals of the ambassadors thus rejected, Alcibiades was declared general, and soon engaged the Argives,\* the Mantineans, and Eleans, as allies to the Athenians. Nobody commended the manner of this transaction, but the effect was very great, since it divided and embroiled almost all Peloponnesus, in one day lifted so many arms against the Lacedæmonians at Mantinea, and removed to so great a distance from Athens the scene of war; by

\* He concluded a league with these states for an hundred years, which Thucydides has inserted at full length in his fifth book; and by which we learn that the treaties of the ancient Greeks were no less perfect and explicit than ours. Their treaties were of as little consequence too: for how soon was that broken which the Athenians had made with the Lacedæmonians?



which the Lacedæmonians, if victorious, could gain no great advantage, whereas a miscarriage would have risked the very being of their state.

Soon after this battle at Mantinea,\* the principal officers† of the Argive army attempted to abolish the popular government in Argos, and to take the administration into their own hands. The Lacedæmonians espoused the design, and assisted them to carry it into execution. But the people took up arms again, and defeated their new masters; and Alcibiades coming to their aid, made the victory more complete. At the same time he persuaded them to extend their walls down to the sea, that they might always be in a condition to receive succours from the Athenians. From Athens he sent them carpenters and masons, exerting himself greatly on this occasion, which tended to increase his personal interest and power, as well as that of his country. He advised the people of Patræ too, to join their city to the sea by long walls. And somebody observing to the Patrensians, “That the Athenians would one day swallow them up;” “Possibly it may be so,” said Alcibiades, “but they will begin with the feet, and do it by little and little, whereas the Lacedæmonians will begin with the head, and do it all at once.” He exhorted the Athenians to assert the empire of the land as well as of the sea; and was ever putting the young warriors in mind to show by their deeds that they remembered the oath they had taken in the temple of Agraulos.‡ The

\* That battle was fought near three years after the conclusion of the treaty with Argos.

† Those officers availed themselves of the consternation the people of Argos were in after the loss of the battle; and the Lacedæmonians gladly supported them, from a persuasion that if the popular government were abolished, and an aristocracy (like that of Sparta) set up in Argos, they should soon be masters there.

‡ Agraulos, one of the daughters of Cecrops, had devoted herself to death for the benefit of her country; it has been supposed, therefore, that the oath which the young Athenians took, bound



oath is, that they will consider wheat, barley, vine, and olives, as the bounds of Attica ; by which it is insinuated, that they should endeavour to possess themselves of all lands that are cultivated and fruitful.

But these his great abilities in politics, his eloquence, his reach of genius, and keenness of apprehension, were tarnished by his luxurious living, his drinking and debauches, his effeminacy of dress, and his insolent profusion. He wore a purple robe with a long train, when he appeared in public. He caused the planks of his galley to be cut away, that he might lie the softer, his bed not being placed upon the boards, but hanging upon girths. And in the wars he bore a shield of gold, which had none of the usual ensigns\* of his country, but in their stead, a Cupid bearing a thunderbolt. The great men of Athens saw his behaviour with uneasiness and indignation, and even dreaded the consequence. They regarded his foreign manners, his profusion, and contempt of the laws, as so many means to make himself absolute. And Aristophanes well expresses how the bulk of the people were disposed towards him :

They love, they hate, but cannot live without him.

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them to do something of that nature, if need should require ; though, as given by Plutarch, it implies only an unjust resolution to extend the Athenian dominions to all lands that were worth seizing. Demosthenes mentions the oath in his oration *De fals. legat.* but does not explain it.

\* Both cities and private persons had, of old, their ensigns, devices, or arms. Those of the Athenians were commonly Minerva, the owl, or the olive. None but people of figure were allowed to bear any devices ; nor even they, until they had performed some action to deserve them ; in the meantime their shields were plain white. Alcibiades, in his device, referred to the beauty of his person and his martial prowess. Mottos, too, were used. Capaneus, for instance, bore a naked man with a torch in his hand ; the motto this, *I will burn the city.* See more in Æschylus's tragedy of the *Seven Chiefs.*



And again he satirizes him still more severely by the following allusion,

Nurse not a lion's whelp within your walls,  
But if he is brought up there, sooth the brute.

The truth is, his prodigious liberality; the games he exhibited, and the other extraordinary instances of his munificence to the people, the glory of his ancestors, the beauty of his person, and the force of his eloquence, together with his heroic strength, his valour, and experience in war, so gained upon the Athenians, that they connived at his errors, and spoke of them with all imaginable tenderness, calling them sallies of youth, and good-humoured frolics. Such were his confining Agatharcus the painter,\* until he had painted his house, and then dismissing him with a handsome present; his giving a box on the ear to Taureus, who exhibited games in opposition to him, and vied with him for the preference; and his taking one of the captive Melian women for his mistress, and bringing up a child he had by her. These were what they called his good-humoured frolics. But surely we cannot bestow that appellation upon the slaughtering of all the males in the isle of Melos† who had arrived at years of puberty, which was in consequence of a decree that he promoted. Again, when Aristophon had painted the courtesan Nemea with Alcibiades in her arms, many of the people eagerly crowded to see it, but such of the Athenians as were more advanced in years were much displeased, and considered these as sights fit

\* This painter had been familiar with Alcibiades's mistress.

† The isle of Melos, one of the Cyclades, and a colony of Lacedæmon, was attempted by Alcibiades, the last year of the nineteenth Olympiad, and taken the year following. Thucydides, who has given us an account of this slaughter of the Melians, makes no mention of the decree. Probably he was willing to have the carnage thought the effect of a sudden transport in the soldiery, and not of a cruel and cool resolution of the people of Athens.



only for a tyrant's court, and as insults on the laws of Athens. Nor was it ill observed by Archestratus, "that Greece could not bear another Alcibiades." When Timon, famed for his misanthropy, saw Alcibiades, after having gained his point, conducted home with great honour from the place of assembly, he did not shun him, as he did other men, but went up to him, and shaking him by the hand, thus addressed him, "Go on, my brave boy, and prosper; for your prosperity will bring on the ruin of all this crowd." This occasioned various reflections; some laughed, some railed, and others were extremely moved at the saying. So various were the judgments formed of Alcibiades, by reason of the inconsistency of his character.

In the time of Pericles,\* the Athenians had a desire after Sicily, and when he had paid the last debt to nature, they attempted it; frequently, under pretence of succouring their allies, sending aids of men and money to such of the Sicilians as were attacked by the Syracusans. This was a step to greater armaments. But Alcibiades inflamed this desire to an irresistible degree, and persuaded them not to attempt the island in part, and by little and little, but to send a powerful fleet entirely to subdue it. He inspired the people with hopes of great things,

\* Pericles, by his prudence and authority, had restrained this extravagant ambition of the Athenians. He died the last year of the eighty-seventh Olympiad, in the third year of the Peloponnesian war. Two years after this, the Athenians sent some ships to Rhegium, which were to go from thence to the succour of the Leontines, who were attacked by the Syracusans. The year following they sent a still greater number; and two years after that, they fitted out another fleet of a greater force than the former; but the Sicilians having put an end to their divisions, and by the advice of Hermocrates (whose speech Thucydides, in his fourth book, gives us at large), having sent back the fleet, the Athenians were so enraged at their generals for not having conquered Sicily, that they banished two of them, Pythodorus and Sophocles, and laid a heavy fine upon Eurymedon. So infatuated were they by their prosperity, that they imagined themselves irresistible.



and indulged himself in expectations still more lofty: for he did not, like the rest, consider Sicily as the end of his wishes, but rather as an introduction to the mighty expeditions he had conceived. And while Nicias was dissuading the people from the siege of Syracuse, as a business too difficult to succeed in, Alcibiades was dreaming of Carthage and of Libya: and after these were gained, had designed to grasp Italy and Peloponnesus, regarding Sicily as little more than a magazine for provisions and warlike stores.

The young men immediately entered into his schemes, and listened with great attention to those who under the sanction of age related wonders concerning the intended expeditions; so that many of them sat whole days in the places of exercise, drawing in the dust the figure of the island and plans of Libya and Carthage. However, we are informed, that Socrates the philosopher, and Meton the astrologer, were far from expecting that these wars would turn to the advantage of Athens: the former, it should seem, influenced by some prophetic notices with which he was favoured by the genius who attended him; and the latter, either by reasonings which led him to fear what was to come, or else by knowledge with which his art supplied him. Be that as it may, Meton feigned himself mad, and taking a flaming torch, attempted to set his house on fire. Others say, that he made use of no such pretence, but burned down his house in the night, and in the morning went and begged of the people to excuse his son from that campaign, that he might be a comfort to him under his misfortune. By this artifice he imposed upon them, and gained his point.

Nicias was appointed one of the generals much against his inclination; for he would have declined the command, if it had been only on account of his having such a colleague. The Athenians, however,



thought the war would be better conducted, if they did not give free scope to the impetuosity of Alcibiades, but tempered his boldness with the prudence of Nicias. For as to the third general, Lamachus, though well advanced in years, he did not seem to come at all short of Alcibiades in heat and rashness.

When they came to deliberate about the number of the troops, and the necessary preparations for the armament, Nicias again opposed their measures, and endeavoured to prevent the war. But Alcibiades replying to his arguments, and carrying all before him, the orator Demosthenes proposed a decree, that the generals should have the absolute direction of the war, and of all the preparations for it. When the people had given their assent, and every thing was got ready for setting sail, unlucky omens occurred, even on a festival that was celebrated at that time. It was the feast of Adonis;\* the women walked in procession with images, which represented the dead carried out to burial, acting the lamentations, and singing the mournful dirges usual on such occasions.

Add to this the mutilating and disfiguring of almost all the statues of Mercury,† which happened in one night; a circumstance which alarmed even those who had long despised things of that nature. It was imputed to the Corinthians, of whom the Syracusans were a colony; and they were supposed to

\* On the feast of Adonis all the cities put themselves in mourning; coffins were exposed at every door; the statues of Venus and Adonis were borne in procession, with certain vessels filled with earth, in which they had raised corn, herbs, and lettuce, and these vessels were called *the gardens of Adonis*. After the ceremony was over, the *gardens* were thrown into the sea or some river. This festival was celebrated throughout all Greece and Egypt, and among the Jews too, when they degenerated into idolatry, as we learn from *Ezekiel* x. 14. *And behold there sat women weeping for Tummuz, that is Adonis.*

† The Athenians had statues of Mercury at the doors of their houses, made of stones of a cubical form.



have done it, in hopes that such a prodigy might induce the Athenians to desist from the war. But the people paid little regard to this insinuation, or to the discourses of those who said that there was no manner of ill presage in what had happened, and that it was nothing but the wild frolic of a parcel of young fellows, flushed with wine, and bent on some extravagance. Indignation and fear made them take this event not only for a bad omen, but for the consequence of a plot which aimed at great matters; and therefore both senate and people assembled several times within a few days, and very strictly examined every suspicious circumstance.

In the meantime, the demagogue Androcles produced some Athenian slaves, and certain sojourners, who accused Alcibiades and his friends of defacing some other statues, and of mimicing the sacred mysteries in one of their drunken revels: on which occasion, they said, one Theodorus represented the herald, Polytion the torch-bearer, and Alcibiades the high-priest; his other companions attending as persons initiated, and therefore called *Mystæ*. Such was the import of the deposition of Thessalus the son of Cimon, who accused Alcibiades of impiety towards the goddesses Ceres and Proserpine. The people being much provoked at Alcibiades, and Androcles, his bitterest enemy, exasperating them still more, at first he was somewhat disconcerted. But when he perceived that the seamen and soldiers too, intended for the Sicilian expedition, were on his side, and heard a body of Argives and Mantineans, consisting of a thousand men, declare that they were willing to cross the seas, and to run the risk of a foreign war for the sake of Alcibiades, but that if any injury were done to him, they would immediately march home again; then he recovered his spirits, and appeared to defend himself. It was now his enemies' turn to be discouraged, and to fear that the people, on account of the need they had of him,



would be favourable in their sentence. To obviate this inconvenience, they persuaded certain orators, who were not reputed to be his enemies, but hated him as heartily as the most professed one, to move it to the people, "That it was extremely absurd, that a general who was invested with a discretionary power, and a very important command, when the troops were collected, and the allies all ready to sail, should lose time, while they were casting lots for judges, and filling the glasses with water, to measure out the time of his defence. In the name of the gods, let him sail, and when the war is concluded, be accountable to the laws, which will still be the same."

Alcibiades easily saw their malicious drift, in wanting to put off the trial, and observed, "That it would be an intolerable hardship to leave such accusations and calumnies behind him, and be sent out with so important a commission, while he was in suspense as to his own fate. That he ought to suffer death, if he could not clear himself of the charge; but if he could prove his innocence, justice required that he should be set free from all fear of false accusers, before they sent him against their enemies." But he could not obtain that favour. He was indeed ordered to set sail;\* which he accordingly did, together with his colleagues, having near an hundred and forty galleys in his company, five thousand one hundred heavy-armed soldiers, and about a thousand three hundred archers, slingers, and others light-armed; with suitable provisions and stores.

Arriving on the coast of Italy, he landed at Rhegium. There he gave his opinion as to the manner in which the war should be conducted, and was opposed by Nicias: but as Lamachus agreed with

\* The second year of the eighty-first Olympiad, and seventeenth of the Peloponnesian war.



him, he sailed to Sicily, and made himself master of Catana. This was all he performed, being soon sent for by the Athenians to take his trial. At first, as we have observed, there was nothing against him but slight suspicions, and the depositions of slaves and persons who sojourned in Athens. But his enemies took advantage of his absence, to bring new matter of impeachment, adding to the mutilating of the statues, his sacrilegious behaviour with respect to the mysteries, and alleging that both these crimes flowed from the same source,\* a conspiracy to change the government. All that were accused of being any ways concerned in it, they committed to prison unheard; and they repented exceedingly, that they had not immediately brought Alcibiades to his trial, and got him condemned upon so heavy a charge. While this fury lasted, every relation, every friend and acquaintance of his, was very severely dealt with by the people.

Thucydides has omitted the names of the accusers, but others mention Diocledes and Teucer. So Phrynichus, the comic poet,

Good HERMES, pray, beware a fall; nor break  
Thy marble nose, lest some false Diocledes  
Once more his shafts in fatal poison drench.

MERC. I will. Nor e'er again shall that informer,  
Teucer, that faithless stranger, boast from me  
Rewards for perjury.

Indeed, no clear or strong evidence was given by the informers. One of them being asked how he could distinguish the faces of those who disfigured the statues, answered, that he discerned them by the light of the moon; which was a plain falsity, for it was done at the time of the moon's change. All

\* They gave out, that he had entered into a conspiracy to betray the city to the Lacedæmonians, and that he had persuaded the Argives to undertake something to their prejudice.



persons of understanding exclaimed against such baseness; but this detection did not in the least pacify the people; they went on with the same rage and violence with which they had begun, taking informations, and committing all to prison whose names were given in.

Among those that were then imprisoned, in order to their trial, was the orator Andocides, whom Hellenicus the historian reckons among the descendants of Ulysses. He was thought to be no friend to a popular government, but a favourer of oligarchy. What contributed not a little to his being suspected of having some concern in defacing the *Hermæ*, was, that the great statue of Mercury, which was placed near his house, being consecrated to that god by the tribe called the *Ægeis*, was almost the only one amongst the most remarkable, which was left entire. Therefore, to this day it is called the *Hermes* of Andocides, and that title universally prevails, though the inscription does not agree with it.

It happened, that among those who were imprisoned on the same account, Andocides contracted an acquaintance and friendship with one Timæus; a man not equal in rank to himself, but of uncommon parts and a daring spirit. He advised Andocides to accuse himself and a few more; because the decree promised impunity to any one that would confess, and inform, whereas the event of the trial was uncertain to all, and much to be dreaded by such of them as were persons of distinction. He represented that it was better to save his life by a falsity, than to suffer an infamous death as one really guilty of the crime; and that with respect to the public, it would be an advantage to give up a few persons of dubious character, in order to rescue many good men from an enraged populace.

Andocides was prevailed upon by these arguments of Timæus; and informing against himself and some others, enjoyed the impunity promised by the decree;



but all the rest whom he named were capitally punished, except a few that fled. Nay, to procure the greater credit to his depositions, he accused even his own servants.

However, the fury of the people was not so satisfied; but turning from the persons who had disfigured the Hermæ, as if it had reposed a while only to recover its strength, it fell totally upon Alcibiades. At last they sent the Salaminian galley to fetch him, artfully enough ordering their officer not to use violence, or to lay hold of his person, but to behave to him with civility, and to acquaint him with the people's orders that he should go and take his trial, and clear himself before them. For they were apprehensive of some tumult and mutiny in the army, now it was in an enemy's country, which Alcibiades, had he been so disposed, might have raised with all the ease in the world. Indeed, the soldiers expressed great uneasiness at his leaving them, and expected that the war would be spun out to a great length by the dilatory counsels of Nicias, when the spur was taken away. Lamachus, indeed, was bold and brave, but he was wanting both in dignity and weight, by reason of his poverty.

Alcibiades immediately embarked:\* the consequence of which was, that the Athenians could not take Messena. There were persons in the town ready to betray it, whom Alcibiades perfectly knew, and as he apprised some that were friends to the Syracusans of their intention, the affair miscarried.

As soon as he arrived at Thurii, he went on shore, and concealing himself there, eluded the search which was made after him. But some person knowing him, and saying, "Will not you, then, trust your country?" he answered, "As to any thing else I will trust her; but with my life I would not trust even

\* He prudently embarked in a vessel of his own, and not on the Salaminian galley.



my mother, lest she should mistake a black bean for a white one." Afterwards being told that the republic had condemned him to die, he said, "But I will make them find that I am alive."

The information against him ran thus: "Thessalus, the son of Cimon, of the ward of Lacias, accuseth Alcibiades, the son of Clinias, of the ward of Scambonis, of sacrilegiously offending the goddesses Ceres and Proserpine, by counterfeiting their mysteries, and showing them to his companions in his own house. Wearing such a robe as the high-priest does while he shows the holy things, he called himself high-priest, as he did Polytion torch-bearer, and Theodorus of the ward of Phygea, herald: and the rest of his companions he called *persons initiated*,\* and *brethren of the secret*; herein acting contrary to the rules and ceremonies established by the Eumolpidæ,† the heralds and priests at Eleusis." As he did not appear, they condemned him, confiscated his goods, and ordered all the priests and priestesses to denounce an execration against him; which was denounced accordingly by all but Theno, the daughter of Menon, priestess of the temple of Agraulos, who excused herself, alleging, that *she was a priestess for prayer, not for execration*.

While these decrees and sentences were passing against Alcibiades, he was at Argos; having quitted Thurii, which no longer afforded him a safe asylum, to come into Peloponnesus. Still dreading his enemies, and giving up all hopes of being restored to his country, he sent to Sparta to desire permission to

\* The *Mystæ*, or persons initiated, were to remain a year under probation, during which time they were to go no further than the vestibule of the temple; after that term was expired they were called *epoptæ*, and admitted to all the mysteries, except such as were reserved for the priests only.

† Eumolpus was the first who settled these mysteries of Ceres, for which reason his descendants had the care of them after him; and when his line failed, those who succeeded in the function were, notwithstanding, called Eumolpidæ.



live there under the protection of the public faith, promising to serve that state more effectually, now he was their friend, than he had annoyed them, whilst their enemy. The Spartans granting him a safe conduct, and expressing their readiness to receive him, he went thither with pleasure. One thing he soon effected, which was to procure succours for Syracuse without farther hesitation or delay, having persuaded them to send Gylippus thither, to take upon him the direction of the war, and to crush the Athenian power in Sicily. Another thing which he persuaded them to was, to declare war against the Athenians, and to begin its operations on the continent: and the third, which was the most important of all, was to get Decelea fortified; for this being in the neighbourhood of Athens, was productive of great mischief to that commonwealth.\*

These measures procured Alcibiades the public approbation at Sparta, and he was no less admired for his manner of living in private. By conforming to their diet and other austerities, he charmed and captivated the people. When they saw him close shaved, bathing in cold water, feeding on their coarse bread, or eating their black broth, they could hardly believe that such a man had ever kept a cook in his house, seen a perfumer, or worn a robe of Milesian purple. It seems, that amongst his other qualifications, he had the very extraordinary art of engaging

\* Agis, king of Sparta, at the head of a very numerous army of Lacedæmonians, Corinthians, and other nations of Peloponnesus, invaded Attica, and, according to the advice which Alcibiades had given, seized and fortified Decelea, which stood at an equal distance from Athens and the frontiers of Bœotia, and by means of which the Athenians were now deprived of the profits of the silver mines, of the rents of their lands, and of the succours of their neighbours. But the greatest misfortune which happened to the Athenians, from the beginning of the war to this time, was that which befel them this year in Sicily, where they not only lost the conquest they aimed at, together with the reputation they had so long maintained, but their fleet, their army, and their generals.



the affections of those with whom he conversed, by imitating and adopting their customs and way of living. Nay, he turned himself into all manner of forms with more ease than the chameleon changes his colour. It is not, we are told, in that animal's power to assume a white, but Alcibiades could adapt himself either to good or bad, and did not find any thing which he attempted impracticable. Thus at Sparta he was all for exercise, frugal in his diet, and severe in his manners. In Asia he was as much for mirth and pleasure, luxury and ease. In Thrace, again, riding and drinking were his favourite amusements: and in the palace of Tissaphernes, the Persian grandee, he outvied the Persians themselves in pomp and splendour. Not that he could with so much ease change his real manners, or approve in his heart the form which he assumed; but because he knew that his native manners would be unacceptable to those whom he happened to be with, he immediately conformed to the ways and fashions of whatever place he came to. When he was at Lacedæmon, if you regarded only his outside, you would say as the proverb does, *This is not the son of Achilles, but Achilles himself*; this man has surely been brought up under the eye of Lycurgus: but then if you looked more nearly into his disposition and his actions, you would exclaim, with Electra in the poet, *The same weak woman still!*\* For while king Agis was employed in a distant expedition, he corrupted his wife Timæa so effectually, that she was with child by him, and did not pretend to deny it; and when she was delivered of a son, though in public she called him Leotychidas, yet in her own house she whispered to her female friends and to her servants, that his true name was Alcibiades. To such

\* This is spoken of Hermione, in the Orestes of Euripides, upon her discovering the same vanity and solicitude about her beauty, when advanced in years, that she had when she was young.



a degree was the woman transported by her passion. And Alcibiades himself, indulging his vein of mirth, used to say, "His motive was not to injure the king, or to satisfy his appetite, but that his offspring might one day sit on the throne of Lacedæmon." Agis had information of these matters from several hands, and he was the more ready to give credit to them, because they agreed with the time. Terrified with an earthquake, he had quitted his wife's chamber, to which he returned not for the next ten months: at the end of which Leotychidas being born, he declared the child was not his; and for this reason he was never suffered to inherit the crown of Sparta.

After the miscarriage of the Athenians in Sicily, the people of Chios, of Lesbos, and Cyzicum, sent to treat with the Spartans about quitting the interests of Athens, and putting themselves under the protection of Sparta. The Bœotians, on this occasion, solicited for the Lesbians, and Pharnabazus for the people of Cyzicum; but at the persuasion of Alcibiades, succours were sent to those of Chios before all others. He likewise passed over into Ionia, and prevailed with almost all that country to revolt, and attending the Lacedæmonian generals in the execution of most of their commissions, he did great prejudice to the Athenians.

But Agis, who was already his enemy on account of the injury done to his bed, could not endure his glory and prosperity; for most of the present successes were ascribed to Alcibiades. The great and the ambitious among the Spartans were indeed, in general, touched with envy; and had influence enough with the civil magistrates, to procure orders to be sent to their friends in Ionia to kill him. But timely foreseeing his danger, and cautioned by his fears, in every step he took he still served the Lacedæmonians, taking care all the while not to put himself in their power. Instead of that, he sought the protection of Tissaphernes, one of the grandees of Persia, or lieutenants of the king. With this Persian



he soon attained the highest credit and authority : for himself a very subtle and insincere man, he admired the art and keenness of Alcibiades. Indeed, by the elegance of his conversation and the charms of his politeness, every man was gained, all hearts were touched. Even those that feared and envied him, were not insensible to pleasure in his company ; and while they enjoyed it, their resentment was disarmed. Tissaphernes, in all other cases savage in his temper, and the bitterest enemy that Greece experienced among the Persians, gave himself up, notwithstanding, to the flatteries of Alcibiades, insomuch that he even vied with and exceeded him in address. For of all his gardens, that which excelled in beauty, which was remarkable for the salubrity of its streams and the freshness of its meadows, which was set off with pavilions royally adorned, and retirements finished in the most elegant taste, he distinguished by the name of ALCIBIADES : and every one continued to give it that appellation.

Rejecting, therefore, the interests of Lacedæmon, and fearing that people as treacherous to him, he represented them and their king Agis, in a disadvantageous light, to Tissaphernes. He advised him not to assist them effectually, nor absolutely to ruin the Athenians, but to send his subsidies to Sparta with a sparing hand ; that so the two powers might insensibly weaken and consume each other, and both at last be easily subjected to the king. Tissaphernes readily followed his counsels, and it was evident to all the world that he held him in the greatest admiration and esteem ; which made him equally considerable with the Greeks of both parties. The Athenians repented of the sentence they had passed upon him, because they had suffered for it since : and Alcibiades, on his side, was under some fear and concern, lest, if their republic were destroyed, he should fall into the hands of the Lacedæmonians, who hated him.

At that time, the whole strength of the Athenians



lay at Samos. With their ships sent out from thence, they recovered some of the towns which had revolted, and others they kept to their duty; and at sea they were in some measure able to make head against their enemies. But they were afraid of Tissaphernes, and the Phœnician fleet of a hundred and fifty ships, which were said to be coming against them; for against such a force they could not hope to defend themselves. Alcibiades, apprised of this, privately sent a messenger to the principal Athenians at Samos, to give them hopes that he would procure them the friendship of Tissaphernes: not to recommend himself to the people, whom he could not trust; but to oblige the nobility, if they would but exert their superiority, repress the insolence of the commonalty, and taking the government into their own hands, by that means save their country.

All the officers readily embraced his proposal, except Phrynichus, who was of the ward of *Dirades*. He alone suspected, what was really the case, that it was a matter of very little consequence to Alcibiades whether an oligarchy or democracy prevailed in Athens; that it was his business to get himself recalled by any means whatever, and that therefore, by his invectives against the people, he wanted only to insinuate himself into the good graces of the nobility. Upon these reasons proceeded the opposition of Phrynichus: but seeing his opinion disregarded, and that Alcibiades must certainly become his enemy, he gave secret intelligence to Astyochus, the enemy's admiral, of the double part which Alcibiades acted, advising him to beware of his designs, and to secure his person. But he knew not that while he was betraying, he was himself betrayed. For Astyochus wanting to make his court to Tissaphernes, informed Alcibiades of the affair, who, he knew, had the ear of that grandee.

Alcibiades immediately sent proper persons to Samos with an accusation against Phrynichus; who



seeing no other resource, as every body was against him, and expressed great indignation at his behaviour, attempted to cure one evil with another and a greater. For he sent to Astyochus to complain of his revealing his secret, and to offer to deliver up to him the whole Athenian fleet and army. This treason of Phrynichus, however, did no injury to the Athenians, because it was again betrayed by Astyochus; for he laid the whole matter before Alcibiades. Phrynichus had the sagacity to foresee, and expect another accusation from Alcibiades, and to be beforehand with him, he himself forewarned the Athenians, that the enemy would endeavour to surprise them, and therefore desired them to be upon their guard, to keep on board their ships, and to fortify their camp.

While the Athenians were doing this, letters came from Alcibiades again, advising them to beware of Phrynichus, who had undertaken to betray their fleet to the enemy; but they gave no credit to these despatches, supposing that Alcibiades, who perfectly knew the preparations and intentions of the enemy, abused that knowledge to the raising of such a calumny against Phrynichus. Yet afterwards, when Phrynichus was stabbed in full assembly by one of Hermon's soldiers who kept guard that day, the Athenians taking cognizance of the matter, after his death, condemned Phrynichus as guilty of treason, and ordered Hermon and his party to be crowned for despatching a traitor.

The friends of Alcibiades, who now had a superior interest at Samos, sent Pysander to Athens, to change the form of government, by encouraging the nobility to assume it, and to deprive the people of their power and privileges, as the condition upon which Alcibiades would procure them the friendship and alliance of Tissaphernes. This was the colour of the pretence made use of by those who wanted to introduce an oligarchy. But when that body which were called *the five thousand*, but in fact were only



*four hundred*,\* had got the power into their hands, they paid but little attention to Alcibiades, and carried on the war but slowly : partly distrusting the citizens who did not yet relish the new form of government, and partly hoping that the Lacedæmonians, who were always inclined to favour an oligarchy, would not press them with their usual vigour.

Such of the commonalty as were at home, were silent through fear, though much against their will ; for a number of those who had openly opposed the *four hundred*, were put to death. But, when they that were at Samos were informed of the affair, they were highly incensed at it, and inclined immediately to set sail for the Pyræus. In the first place, however, they sent for Alcibiades, and having appointed him their general, ordered him to lead them against the tyrants, and demolish both them and their power. On such an occasion, almost any other man, suddenly exalted by the favour of the multitude, would have thought he must have complied with all their humours, and not have contradicted those in any thing, who, from a fugitive and a banished man, had raised him to be commander in chief of such a fleet and army. But he behaved as became a great general, and prevented their plunging into error through the violence of their rage. This care of his evidently was the saving of the commonwealth. For if they had sailed home, as they promised, the enemy would have seized on Ionia immediately, and have gained the Hellespont and the islands without striking a stroke ; while

\* It was at first proposed, that only the dregs of the people should lose their authority, which was to be vested in five thousand of the most wealthy, who were for the future to be reputed the people. But when Pisander and his associates found the strength of their party, they carried it that the old form of government should be dissolved, and that five *Prytanes* should be elected ; that these five should choose a hundred ; that each of the hundred should choose three ; that the four hundred thus elected should become a senate with supreme power, and should consult the five thousand only when and on such matters as they thought fit.



the Athenians would have been engaged in a civil war, of which Athens itself would have been the seat. All this was prevented chiefly by Alcibiades, who not only tried what arguments would do with the army in general, and informed them of their danger, but applied to them one by one, using entreaties to some and force to others; in which he was assisted by the loud harangues of Thrasybulus of the ward of Stira, who attended him through the whole, and had the strongest voice of any man among the Athenians.

Another great service performed by Alcibiades, was, his undertaking that the Phœnician fleet, which the Lacedæmonians expected from the king of Persia, should either join the Athenians, or at least not act on the enemy's side. In consequence of this promise, he set out as expeditiously as possible; and prevailed upon Tissaphernes not to forward the ships, which were already come as far as Aspendus, but to disappoint and deceive the Lacedæmonians. Nevertheless, both sides, and particularly the Lacedæmonians, accused Alcibiades of hindering that fleet from coming to their aid; for they supposed he had instructed the Persians to leave the Greeks to destroy each other. And, indeed, it was obvious enough, that such a force added to either side, would entirely have deprived the other of the dominion of the sea.

After this the *four hundred* were soon quashed,\* the friends of Alcibiades very readily assisting those who were for a democracy. And now the people in the city not only wished for him, but commanded him to return;† yet he thought it not best to return

\* The same year that they were set up, which was the second of the ninety-second Olympiad. The reader must carefully distinguish this faction of four hundred from the senate of four hundred established by Solon, which these turned out, the few months they were in power.

† Thucydides does not speak of this arrival of Alcibiades, but probably he did not live to have a clear account of this action, for he died this year. Xenophon, who continued his history, mentions it.



with empty hands, or without having effected something worthy of note, but instead of being indebted to the compassion and favour of the multitude, to distinguish his appearance by his merit. Parting, therefore, from Samos with a few ships, he cruised on the sea of Cnidus and about the isle of Coos, where he got intelligence that Mindarus the Spartan admiral, was sailed with his whole fleet towards the Hellespont, to find out the Athenians. This made him hasten to the assistance of the latter, and fortunately enough he arrived with his eighteen ships at the very juncture of time, when the two fleets having engaged near Abydos, continued the fight from morning until night, one side having the advantage in the right wing, and the other on the left.

On the appearance of his squadron, both sides entertained a false opinion of the end of his coming; for the Spartans were encouraged and the Athenians struck with terror. But he soon hoisted the Athenian flag on the admiral galley, and bore down directly upon the Peloponnesians, who now had the advantage, and were urging the pursuit. His vigorous impression put them to flight, and following them close, he drove them ashore, destroying their ships, and killing such of their men as endeavoured to save themselves by swimming: though Pharnabazus succoured them all he could from the shore, and with an armed force attempted to save their vessels. The conclusion was, that the Athenians, having taken thirty of the enemy's ships, and recovered their own, erected a trophy.

After this glorious success, Alcibiades, ambitious to show himself as soon as possible to Tissaphernes, prepared presents and other proper acknowledgments for his friendship and hospitality, and then went to wait upon him, with a princely train. But he was not welcomed in the manner he expected: for Tissaphernes, who for some time had been accused by the Lacedæmonians, and was apprehen-



sive that the charge might reach the king's ear, thought the coming of Alcibiades a very seasonable incident, and therefore put him under arrest and confined him at Sardis, imagining that injurious proceeding would be a means to clear himself.

Thirty days after, Alcibiades having by some means or other obtained a horse, escaped from his keepers, and fled to Clazomenæ: and by way of revenge, he pretended that Tissaphernes privately set him at liberty. From thence he passed to the place where the Athenians were stationed; and being informed, that Mindarus and Pharnabazus were together at Cyzicum, he showed the troops that it was necessary for them to fight both by sea and land, nay, even to fight with stone walls, if that should be required, in order to come at their enemies; for, if the victory were not complete and universal, they could come at no money. Then he embarked the forces, and sailed to Proconesus, where he ordered them to take the lighter vessels into the middle of the fleet, and to have a particular care that the enemy might not discover that he was coming against them. A great and sudden rain which happened to fall at that time, together with dreadful thunder and darkness, was of great service in covering his operations. For not only the enemy were ignorant of his design, but the very Athenians, whom he had ordered in great haste on board, did not presently perceive that he was under sail. Soon after the weather cleared up, and the Peloponnesian ships were seen riding at anchor in the road of Cyzicum. Lest, therefore, the enemy should be alarmed at the largeness of his fleet, and save themselves by getting on shore, he directed many of the officers to slacken sail and keep out of sight, while he showed himself with forty ships only, and challenged the Lacedæmonians to the combat. The stratagem had its effect; for despising the small number of galleys which they saw, they immediately weighed anchor



and engaged ; but the rest of the Athenian ships coming up during the engagement, the Lacedæmonians were struck with terror and fled. Upon that Alcibiades, with twenty of his best ships breaking through the midst of them, hastened to the shore, and having made a descent, pursued those that fled from the ships, and killed great numbers of them. He likewise defeated Mindarus and Pharnabazus, who came to their succour. Mindarus made a brave resistance and was slain, but Pharnabazus saved himself by flight.

The Athenians remained masters of the field and of the spoils, and took all the enemy's ships. Having also possessed themselves of Cyzicum, which was abandoned by Pharnabazus, and deprived of the assistance of the Peloponnesians, who were almost all cut off, they not only secured the Hellespont, but entirely cleared the sea of the Lacedæmonians. The letter also was intercepted, which, in the laconic style, was to give the *Ephori* an account of their misfortune. "Our glory is faded. Mindarus is slain. Our soldiers are starving ; and we know not what step to take."

On the other hand, Alcibiades's men were so elated, and took so much upon them, because they had always been victorious, that they would not vouchsafe even to mix with other troops that had been sometimes beaten. It happened not long before, that Thrasyllus having miscarried in his attempt upon Ephesus, the Ephesians erected a trophy of brass in reproach of the Athenians.\* The soldiers of Alcibiades, therefore, upbraided those of Thrasyllus with this affair, magnifying themselves and their general, and disdaining to join the others, either in

\* Trophies before had been of wood, but the Ephesians erected this of brass, to perpetuate the infamy of the Athenians ; and it was this new and mortifying circumstance with which Alcibiades's soldiers reproached those of Thrasyllus. DIODOR. lib. xiii.



the place of exercise or in the camp. But soon after, when Pharnabazus with a strong body of horse and foot attacked the forces of Thrasyllus who were ravaging the country about Abydos, Alcibiades marched to their assistance, routed the enemy, and, together with Thrasyllus, pursued them until night. Then he admitted Thrasyllus into his company, and with mutual civilities and satisfaction they returned to the camp. Next day he erected a trophy, and plundered the province which was under Pharnabazus, without the least opposition. The priest and priestess he made prisoners, among the rest, but soon dismissed them without ransom. From thence he intended to proceed and lay siege to Chalcedon, which had withdrawn its allegiance from the Athenians, and received a Lacedæmonian garrison and governor; but being informed that the Chalcedonians had collected their cattle and corn, and sent it all to the Bithynians, their friends, he led his army to the frontier of the Bithynians, and sent a herald before him to summon them to surrender it. They, dreading his resentment, gave up the booty, and entered into an alliance with him.

Afterwards he returned to the siege of Chalcedon, and enclosed it with a wall, which reached from sea to sea. Pharnabazus advanced to raise the siege, and Hippocrates, the governor, sallied out with his whole force to attack the Athenians. But Alcibiades drew up his army so as to engage them both at once, and he defeated them both; Pharnabazus betaking himself to flight, and Hippocrates being killed, together with the greatest part of his troops. This done, he sailed into the Hellespont, to raise contributions in the towns upon the coast.

In this voyage he took Selybria: but in the action unnecessarily exposed himself to great danger. The persons who promised to surrender the town to him, agreed to give him a signal at midnight with a lighted torch; but they were obliged to do it before



the time, for fear of some one that was in the secret, who suddenly altered his mind. The torch, therefore, being held up before the army was ready, Alcibiades took about thirty men with him, and ran to the walls, having ordered the rest to follow as fast as possible. The gate was opened to him, and twenty of the conspirators, lightly armed, joining his small company, he advanced with great spirit, but soon perceived the Selybrians, with their weapons in their hands, coming forward to attack him. As to stand and fight promised no sort of success, and he who to that hour had never been defeated, did not choose to fly, he ordered a trumpet to command silence, and proclamation to be made, that *the Selybrians should not, under the pain of the Republic's high displeasure, take up arms against the Athenians.* Their inclination to the combat was then immediately damped, partly from a supposition that the whole Athenian army was within the walls, and partly from the hopes they conceived of coming to tolerable terms. Whilst they were talking together of this order, the Athenian army came up, and Alcibiades rightly conjecturing that the inclinations of the Selybrians were for peace, was afraid of giving the Thracians an opportunity to plunder the town. These last came down in great numbers to serve under him as volunteers, from a particular attachment to his person; but on this occasion he sent them all out of the town; and upon the submission of the Selybrians, he saved them from being pillaged, demanding only a sum of money, and leaving a garrison in the place.

Meantime, the other generals, who carried on the siege of Chalcedon, came to an agreement with Pharnabazus on these conditions; namely, that a sum of money should be paid them by Pharnabazus; that the Chalcedonians should return to their allegiance to the republic of Athens; and that no injury should be done to the province of which Pharnabazus was governor, who undertook that the Athenian ambassadors should be conducted safe to the king. Upon



the return of Alcibiades, Pharnabazus desired, that he too would swear to the performance of the articles, but Alcibiades insisted that Pharnabazus should swear first. When the treaty was reciprocally confirmed with an oath, Alcibiades went against Byzantium, which had revolted, and drew a line of circumvallation about the city. While he was thus employed, Anaxilaus, Lycurgus, and some others, secretly promised to deliver up the place, on condition that he would keep it from being plundered. Hereupon, he caused it to be reported, that certain weighty and unexpected affairs called him back to Ionia, and in the day-time he set sail with his whole fleet; but returning at night, he himself disembarked with the land forces, and posting them under the walls, he commanded them not to make the least noise. At the same time the ships made for the harbour, and the crews pressing in with loud shouts and great tumult, astonished the Byzantines, who expected no such matter. Thus an opportunity was given to those within the walls, who favoured the Athenians, to receive them in great security, while every body's attention was engaged upon the harbour and the ships.

The affair passed not, however, without blows. For the Peloponnesians, Bœotians, and Megarensians, who were at Byzantium, having driven the ships' crews back to their vessels, and perceiving that the Athenian land forces were got into the town, charged them too with great vigour. The dispute was sharp and the shock great, but victory declared for Alcibiades and Theramenes. The former of these generals commanded the right wing, and the latter the left. About three hundred of the enemy, who survived, were taken prisoners. Not one of the Byzantines, after the battle, was either put to death or banished; for such were the terms on which the town was given up, that the citizens should be safe in their persons and their goods.

Hence it was, that when Anaxilaus was tried at



Lacedæmon for treason, he made a defence which reflected no disgrace upon his past behaviour: for he told them, "That not being a Lacedæmonian, but a Byzantine; and seeing not Lacedæmon but Byzantium in danger; its communication with those that might have relieved it stopped; and the Peloponnesians and Bœotians eating up the provisions that were left, while the Byzantines, with their wives and children, were starving; he had not betrayed the town to an enemy, but delivered it from calamity and war: herein imitating the worthiest men among the Lacedæmonians, who had no other rule of justice and honour, but by all possible means to serve their country." The Lacedæmonians were so much pleased with this speech, that they acquitted him and all that were concerned with him.

Alcibiades, by this time, desirous to see his native country, and still more desirous to be seen by his countrymen, after so many glorious victories, set sail with the Athenian fleet, adorned with many shields and other spoils of the enemy; a great number of ships that he had taken making up the rear, and the flags of many more which he had destroyed being carried in triumph; for all of them together were not fewer than two hundred. But as to what is added, by Duris the Samian, who boasts of his being descended from Alcibiades, that the oars kept time to the flute of Chrysogonus, who had been victorious in the Pythian games; that Callipides the tragedian, attired in his buskins, magnificent robes, and other theatrical ornaments, gave orders to those who laboured at the oars; and that the admiral galley entered the harbour with a purple sail; as if the whole had been a company who had proceeded from a debauch to such a frolic; these are particulars not mentioned either by Theopompus, Ephorus, or Xenophon. Nor is it probable, that at his return from exile, and after such misfortunes as he had suffered, he would insult the Athenians in that manner. So



far from it, that he approached the shore with some fear and caution; nor did he venture to disembark, until, as he stood upon the deck, he saw his cousin Eurypolemus, with many others of his friends and relations, coming to receive and invite him to land.

When he was landed, the multitude that came out to meet him did not vouchsafe so much as to look upon the other generals, but crowding up to him, hailed him with shouts of joy, conducted him on the way, and such as could approach him crowned him with garlands; while those that could not come up so close viewed him at a distance, and the old men pointed him out to the young. Many tears were mixed with the public joy, and the memory of past misfortunes with the sense of their present success. For they concluded that they should not have miscarried in Sicily, or indeed have failed in any of their expectations, if they had left the direction of affairs, and the command of the forces, to Alcibiades; since now, having exerted himself in behalf of Athens, when it had almost lost its dominion of the sea, was hardly able to defend its own suburbs, and was moreover harassed with intestine broils, he had raised it from that low and ruinous condition, so as not only to restore its maritime power, but to render it victorious every where by land.

The act for recalling him from banishment had been passed at the motion of Critias the son of Calleschrus,\* as appears from his elegies, in which he puts Alcibiades in mind of his service:

If you no more in hapless exile mourn,  
The praise is mine ——

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\* This Critias was uncle to Plato's mother, and the same that he introduces in his dialogues. Though now the friend of Alcibiades, yet as the lust of power destroys all ties, when one of the thirty tyrants, he became his bitter enemy, and sending to Lysander, assured him, that Athens would never be quiet, or Sparta safe, until Alcibiades was destroyed. Critias was afterwards slain by Thrasybulus, when he delivered Athens from that tyranny.



The people presently meeting in full assembly, Alcibiades came in among them, and having in a pathetic manner bewailed his misfortunes, he very modestly complained of their treatment, ascribing all to his hard fortune, and the influence of some envious demon. He then proceeded to discourse of the hopes and designs of their enemies, against whom he used his utmost endeavours to animate them. And they were so much pleased with his harangue that they crowned him with crowns of gold, and gave him the absolute command of their forces both by sea and land. They likewise made a decree, that his estate should be restored to him, and that the Eumolpidæ and the heralds should take off the execrations which they had pronounced against him by order of the people. Whilst the rest were employed in expiations for this purpose, Theodorus the high priest said, "For his part, he had never denounced any curse against him, if he had done no injury to the commonwealth."

Amidst this glory and prosperity of Alcibiades, some people were still uneasy, looking upon the time of his arrival as ominous. For on that very day was kept the *plynteria*,\* or purifying of the goddess Minerva. It was the twenty-fifth of May, when the praxiergidæ perform those ceremonies which are not to be revealed, disrobing the image and covering it up. Hence it is that the Athenians, of all days, reckon this the most unlucky, and take the most care not to do business upon it. And it seemed that the goddess did not receive him graciously, but rather with aversion, since she hid her face from him. Notwithstanding all this, every thing succeeded according to his wish; three hundred galleys were

\* On that day when the statue of Minerva was washed, the temples were encompassed with a cord, to denote that they were shut up, as was customary on all inauspicious days. They carried dried figs in procession, because that was the first fruit which was eaten after acorns.



manned and ready to put to sea again: but a laudable zeal detained him until the celebration of the mysteries.\* For after the Lacedæmonians had fortified Decelea, which commanded the roads to Eleusis, the feast was not kept with its usual pomp, because they were obliged to conduct the procession by sea; the sacrifices, the sacred dances, and other ceremonies which had been performed on the way, called holy, while the image of Bacchus was carried in procession, being on that account necessarily omitted. Alcibiades, therefore, judged it would be an act conducive to the honour of the gods, and to his reputation with men, to restore those rites to their due solemnity, by conducting the procession with his army, and guarding it against the enemy. By that means, either king Agis would be humbled, if he suffered it to pass unmolested; or if he attacked the convoy, Alcibiades would have a fight to maintain in the cause of piety and religion, for the most venerable of its mysteries, in the sight of his country; and all his fellow-citizens would be witnesses of his valour.

When he had determined upon this, and communicated his design to the *Eumolpidæ* and the heralds, he placed sentinels upon the eminences, and set out his advanced guard as soon as it was light. Next he took the priests, the persons initiated, and those who had the charge of initiating others, and covering them with his forces, led them on in great order and profound silence; exhibiting in that march a spectacle so august and venerable, that those who did not envy him declared, he had performed not only the office of a general, but of a high priest: not a man of the enemy dared to attack him, and he conducted the procession back in great safety; which

\* The festival of Ceres and Proserpine continued nine days. On the sixth they carried in procession to Eleusis the statue of Bacchus, whom they supposed to be the son of Jupiter and Ceres.



both exalted him in his own thoughts, and gave the soldiery such an opinion of him, that they considered themselves as invincible while under his command. And he gained such an influence over the mean and indigent part of the people, that they were passionately desirous to see him invested with absolute power; insomuch that some of them applied to him in person, and exhorted him, in order to quash the malignity of envy at once, to abolish the privileges of the people, and the laws, and to quell those busy spirits who would otherwise be the ruin of the state; for then he might direct affairs and proceed to action, without fear of groundless impeachments.

What opinion he himself had of this proposal we know not; but this is certain, that the principal citizens were so apprehensive of his aiming at arbitrary power, that they got him to embark as soon as possible; and the more to expedite the matter, they ordered, among other things, that he should have the choice of his colleagues. Putting to sea, therefore, with a fleet of an hundred ships, he sailed to the isle of Andros, where he fought and defeated the Andrians, and such of the Lacedæmonians as assisted him. But yet he did not attack the city, which gave his enemies the first occasion for the charge which they afterwards brought against him. Indeed, if ever man was ruined by a high distinction of character, it was Alcibiades.\* For his continual successes had procured such an opinion of his courage and capacity, that when afterwards he happened to fail in what he undertook, it was suspected to be from want of inclination, and no one would believe it was from want of ability; they thought nothing

\* It was not altogether the universality of his success that rendered Alcibiades suspected, when he came short of public expectation. The duplicity of his character is obvious from the whole account of his life. He paid not the least regard to veracity in political matters; and it is not to be wondered if such principles made him continually obnoxious to the suspicion of the people.



too hard for him, when he pleased to exert himself. They hoped also to hear that Chios was taken, and all Ionia reduced, and grew impatient when every thing was not despatched as suddenly as they desired. They never considered the smallness of his supplies, and that having to carry on the war against people who were furnished out of the treasury of a great king, he was often laid under the necessity of leaving his camp, to go in search of money and provisions for his men.

This it was that gave rise to the last accusation against him. Lysander the Lacedæmonian admiral, out of the money he received from Cyrus, raised the wages of each mariner from three *oboli* a day to four, whereas it was with difficulty that Alcibiades paid his men three. The latter, therefore, went into Caria to raise money, leaving the fleet in charge with Antiochus,\* who was an experienced seaman, but rash and inconsiderate. Though he had express orders from Alcibiades to let no provocation from the enemy bring him to hazard an engagement, yet in his contempt of those orders, having taken some troops on board his own galley and one more, he stood for Ephesus, where the enemy lay, and as he sailed by the heads of their ships, insulted them in the most insufferable manner both by words and actions. Lysander sent out a few ships to pursue him; but as the whole Athenian fleet came up to assist Antiochus, he drew out the rest of his and gave battle, and gained a complete victory. He slew Antiochus himself, took many ships and men, and erected a trophy. Upon this disagreeable news, Alcibiades returned to Samos, from whence he moved with the whole fleet, to offer Lysander battle. But Lysander, content with the advantage he had gained, did not think proper to accept it.

Among the enemies which Alcibiades had in the

\* This was he who caught the quail for him.



army, Thrasybulus, the son of Thrason, being the most determined, quitted the camp, and went to Athens to impeach him. To incense the people against him, he declared in full assembly, that Alcibiades had been the ruin of their affairs, and the means of losing their ships, by his insolent and imprudent behaviour in command, and by leaving the direction of every thing to persons who had got into credit with him through the great merit of drinking deep and cracking seamen's jokes; whilst he was securely traversing the provinces to raise money, indulging his love of liquor, or abandoning himself to his pleasures with the courtezans of Ionia and Abydos: and this at a time when the enemy was stationed at a small distance from his fleet. It was also objected to him, that he had built a castle in Thrace near the city of Bisanthe, to be made use of as a retreat for himself, as if he either could not, or would not live any longer in his own country. The Athenians giving ear to these accusations, to show their resentment and dislike to him, appointed new commanders of their forces.\*

Alcibiades was no sooner informed of it, than, consulting his own safety, he entirely quitted the Athenian army. And having collected a band of strangers, he made war on his own account against those Thracians who acknowledged no king. The booty he made raised him great sums; and at the same time he defended the Grecian frontier against the barbarians.

Tydeus, Menander, and Adimantus, the new-made generals, being now at Ægos Potamos,† with

\* They appointed ten generals. XENOPH. lib. i.

† Plutarch passes over almost three years; namely, the twenty-fifth of the Peloponnesian war; the twenty-sixth, in which the Athenians obtained the victory at Arginusæ, and put six of the ten generals to death, upon a slight accusation of their colleague Theramenes; and almost the whole twenty-seventh, towards the end of which the Athenians sailed to Ægos Potamos, where they received the blow that is spoken of in this place.



all the ships which the Athenians had left, used to stand out early every morning and offer battle to Lysander, whose station was at Lampascus, and then to return and pass the day in a disorderly and careless manner, as if they despised their adversary. This seemed to Alcibiades, who was in the neighbourhood, a matter not to be passed over without notice. He therefore went and told the generals,\* “He thought their station by no means safe in a place where there was neither town nor harbour; that it was very inconvenient to have their provisions and stores from so distant a place as Sestos; and extremely dangerous to let their seamen go ashore, and wander about at their pleasure; whilst a fleet was observing them, which was under the orders of one man, and the strictest discipline imaginable. He, therefore, advised them to remove their station to Sestos.”

The generals, however, gave no attention to what he said; and Tydeus was so insolent as even to bid him begone, for that they, not he, were now to give orders. Alcibiades, suspecting that there was some treachery in the case, retired, telling his acquaintance, who conducted him out of the camp, that if he had not been insulted in such an insupportable manner by the generals, he would in a few days have obliged the Lacedæmonians, however unwilling, either to come to an action at sea, or else to quit their ships. This to some appeared a vain boast; to others it seemed not at all improbable, since he might have brought down a number of Thracian archers and cavalry, to attack and harass the Lacedæmonian camp.†

\* The officers at the head of the Grecian armies and navy, we sometimes call generals, sometimes admirals, because they commonly commanded both by sea and land.

† When a fleet remained some time at one particular station, there was generally a body of land forces, and part of the mariners too encamped upon the shore.



The event soon showed that he judged right of the errors which the Athenians had committed. For Lysander falling upon them, when they least expected it, eight galleys only escaped,\* along with Conon; the rest, not much short of two hundred, were taken and carried away, together with three thousand prisoners, who were afterwards put to death. And within a short time after Lysander took Athens itself, burned the shipping, and demolished the long walls.

Alcibiades, alarmed at this success of the Lacedæmonians, who were now masters both at sea and land, retired into Bithynia. Thither he ordered much treasure to be sent, and took large sums with him, but still left more behind in the castle where he had resided. In Bithynia he once more lost great part of his substance, being stripped by the Thracians there; which determined him to go to Artaxerxes, and entreat his protection. He imagined that the king, upon trial, would find him no less serviceable than Themistocles had been, and he had a better pretence to his patronage; for he was not going to solicit the king's aid against his countrymen, as Themistocles had done, but for his country against its worst enemies. He concluded that Pharnabazus was most likely to procure him a safe conduct, and therefore went to him in Phrygia, where he stayed some time, making his court, and receiving marks of respect.

It was a grief to the Athenians to be deprived of their power and dominion, but when Lysander robbed them also of their liberty, and put their city under the authority of thirty chiefs, they were still more miserably afflicted. Now their affairs were ruined, they perceived with regret the measures which would have saved them, and which they had

\* There was a ninth ship called Paralus, which escaped, and carried the news of their defeat to Athens. Conon himself retired to Cyprus.



neglected to make use of; now they acknowledged their blindness and errors, and looked upon their second quarrel with Alcibiades as the greatest of those errors. They had cast him off without any offence of his: their anger had been grounded upon the ill conduct of his lieutenant in losing a few ships, and their own conduct had been still worse, in depriving the commonwealth of the most excellent and valiant of all its generals. Yet amidst their present misery there was one slight glimpse of hope, that while Alcibiades survived, Athens could not be utterly undone. For he, who before was not content to lead an inactive, though peaceable life, in exile, would not now, if his own affairs were upon any tolerable footing, sit still and see the insolence of the Lacedæmonians, and the madness of the thirty tyrants, without endeavouring at some remedy. Nor was it at all unnatural for the multitude to dream of such relief, since those thirty chiefs themselves were so solicitous to inquire after Alcibiades, and gave so much attention to what he was doing and contriving.

At last, Critias represented to Lysander, that the Lacedæmonians could never securely enjoy the empire of Greece till the Athenian democracy were absolutely destroyed. And though the Athenians seemed at present to bear an oligarchy with some patience, yet Alcibiades, if he lived, would not suffer them long to submit to such a kind of government. Lysander, however, could not be prevailed upon by these arguments, until he received private orders from the magistrates of Sparta,\* to get Alcibiades despatched; whether it was that they dreaded his great capacity, and enterprising spirit, or whether it was done in complaisance to king Agis. Lysander then sent to Pharnabazus to desire him to put this order in execution; and he appointed his bro-

\* The *Scytala* was sent to him.



ther Magacus, and his uncle Susamithres, to manage the affair.

Alcibiades at that time resided in a small village in Phrygia, having his mistress Timandra with him. One night he dreamed that he was attired in his mistress's habit,\* and that as she held him in her arms, she dressed his head, and painted his face like a woman's. Others say, he dreamed that Magacus cut off his head and burned his body; and we are told, that it was but a little before his death that he had this vision. Be that as it may, those that were sent to assassinate him, not daring to enter his house, surrounded it, and set it on fire. As soon as he perceived it, he got together large quantities of clothes and hangings, and threw them upon the fire to choke it; then having wrapped his robe about his left hand, and taking his sword in his right, he sallied through the fire, and got safe out before the stuff which he had thrown upon it could catch the flame. At sight of him the barbarians dispersed, not one of them daring to wait for him, or to encounter him hand to hand; but standing at a distance, they pierced him with their darts and arrows. Thus fell Alcibiades. The barbarians retiring after he was slain, Timandra wrapped the body in her own robes,† and buried it as decently and honourably as her circumstances would allow.

Timandra is said to have been mother to the famous Lais, commonly called the Corinthian, though Lais was brought a captive from Hyccaræ, a little town in Sicily.

Some writers, though they agree as to the manner

\* Alcibiades had dreamed that Timandra attired him in her own habit.

† She buried him in a town called Melissa; and we learn from Athenæus (*in Deipnosoph.*) that the monument remained to his time, for he himself saw it. The emperor Adrian, in memory of so great a man, caused his statue of Persian marble to be set up thereon, and ordered a bull to be sacrificed to him annually.



of Alcibiades's death, yet differ about the cause. They tell us, that catastrophe is not to be imputed to Pharnabazus, or Lysander, or the Lacedæmonians; but that Alcibiades having corrupted a young woman of a noble family, in that country, and keeping her in his house, her brothers, incensed at the injury, set fire, in the night, to the house in which he lived, and upon his breaking through the flames, killed him in the manner we have related.\*

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### CAIUS MARCIUS CORIOLANUS.

THE family of the Marcii afforded Rome many illustrious patricians. Of this house was Ancus Marcius, who was grandson to Numa by his daughter; as were also Publius and Quintus Marcius, who supplied Rome with plenty of the best water. Censorinus, too, who was twice appointed *Censor* by the people of Rome, and who procured a law that no man should ever bear that office twice afterwards, had the same pedigree.

Caius Marcius, of whom I now write, was brought up by his mother in her widowhood; and from him it appeared, that the loss of a father, though at-

\* Ephorus the historian, as he is cited by Diodorus Siculus (lib. xiv.) gives an account of his death, quite different from those recited by Plutarch. He says, that Alcibiades having discovered the design of Cyrus the younger to take up arms, informed Pharnabazus of it, and desired that he might carry the news to the king; but Pharnabazus envying him that honour, sent a confidant of his own, and took all the merit to himself. Alcibiades suspecting the matter, went to Paphlagonia, and sought to procure from the governor letters of credence to the king; which Pharnabazus understanding, hired people to murder him. He was slain in the fortieth year of his age.



tended with other disadvantages, is no hinderance to a man's improving in virtue and attaining to a distinguished excellence; though bad men sometimes allege it as an excuse for their corrupt lives. On the other hand, the same Marcius became witness to the truth of that maxim, that if a generous and noble nature be not thoroughly formed by discipline, it will shoot forth many bad qualities along with the good, as the richest soil, if not cultivated, produces the rankest weeds. His undaunted courage and firmness of mind excited him to many great actions, and carried him through them with honour. But, at the same time, the violence of his passions, his spirit of contention and excessive obstinacy, rendered him untractable and disagreeable in conversation. So that those very persons who saw with admiration his soul unshaken with pleasures, toils, and riches, and allowed him to be possessed of the virtues of temperance, justice, and fortitude, yet in the councils and affairs of state, could not endure his imperious temper, and that savage manner, which was too haughty for a republic. Indeed, there is no other advantage to be had from a liberal education, equal to that of polishing and softening our nature by reason and discipline; for that produces an evenness of behaviour, and banishes from our manners all extremes. There is this, however, to be said, that in those times military abilities were deemed by the Romans the highest excellence, insomuch that the term which they use for virtue in general, was applied by them to valour in particular.

Marcius, for his part, had a more than ordinary inclination for war, and therefore from a child began to handle his weapons. As he thought that artificial arms avail but little, unless those with which nature has supplied us be well improved and kept ready for use, he so prepared himself by exercise for every kind of combat, that while his limbs were active and nimble enough for pursuing, such was his



force and weight in wrestling and in grappling with the enemy, that none could easily get clear of him. Those therefore that had any contest with him for the prize of courage and valour, though they failed of success, flattered themselves with imputing it to his invincible strength, which nothing could resist or fatigue.

He made his first campaign when he was very young,\* when Tarquin, who had reigned in Rome, was driven from the throne, and after many battles, fought with bad success, was now venturing all upon the last throw. Most of the people of Latium, and many other states of Italy, were now assisting and marching towards Rome, to re-establish him, not through any regard they had for Tarquin, but for fear and envy of the Romans, whose growing greatness they were desirous to check. A battle ensued, with various turns of fortune. Marcius distinguished himself that day in sight of the dictator; for seeing a Roman pushed down at a small distance from him, he hastened to his help, and standing before him, he engaged his adversary and slew him. When the dispute was decided in favour of the Romans, the general presented Marcius, among the first, with an oaken crown.† This is the reward which their custom assigns to the man who saves the life of a citizen; either because they honoured the oak for the sake of the Arcadians, whom the oracle called *acorn eaters*; or because an oaken branch is most easy to be had, be the scene of action where it will;

\* In the first year of the seventy-first Olympiad, the two hundred and fifty-eighth of Rome, four hundred and ninety-third before the Christian æra.

† The civic crown was the foundation of many privileges. He who had once obtained it, had a right to wear it always. When he appeared at the public spectacles, the senators rose up to do him honour. He was placed near their bench; and his father, and grandfather by the father's side, were entitled to the same privileges. Here was an encouragement to merit, which cost the public nothing, and yet was productive of many great effects.



or because they think it most suitable to take a crown for him who is the means of saving a citizen, from the tree which is sacred to Jupiter, the protector of cities. Besides, the oak bears more and fairer fruit than any tree that grows wild, and is the strongest of those that are cultivated in plantations. It afforded the first ages both food and drink by its acorns and honey; and supplied men with birds and other creatures for dainties, as it produced the mistletoe, of which birdlime is made.\*

Castor and Pollux are said to have appeared in that battle, and, with their horses dropping sweat, to have been seen soon after in the *forum*, announcing the victory near the fountain, where the temple now stands. Hence also it is said, that the fifteenth of July,† being the day on which that victory was gained, is consecrated to those sons of Jupiter.

It generally happens, that when men of small ambition are very early distinguished by the voice of fame, their thirst of honour is soon quenched and their desires satiated: whereas deep and solid minds are improved and brightened by marks of distinction, which serve, as a brisk gale, to drive them forward in the pursuit of glory. They do not so much think that they have received a reward, as that they have given a pledge, which would make them blush to fall short of the expectations of the public, and therefore they endeavour by their actions to exceed them. Marcius had a soul of this frame. He was always endeavouring to excel himself, and meditating some exploit which might set him in a new light, adding achievement to achievement, and spoils to spoils; therefore, the latter generals under whom he served,

\* It does not any where appear that the ancients made use of the oak in ship-building: how much nobler an encomium might an English historian afford that tree than Plutarch has been able to give it!

† By the great disorder of the Roman calendar, the fifteenth of July then fell upon the twenty-fourth of our October.



were always striving to outdo the former in the honours they paid him, and in the tokens of their esteem. The Romans at that time were engaged in several wars, and fought many battles, and there was not one that Marcius returned from without some honorary crown, some ennobling distinction. The end which others proposed in their acts of valour was glory; but he pursued glory because the acquisition of it delighted his mother. For when she was witness to the applauses he received, when she saw him crowned, when she embraced him with tears of joy, then it was that he reckoned himself at the height of honour and felicity. Epaminondas (they tell us) had the same sentiments, and declared it the chief happiness of his life, that his father and mother lived to see the generalship he exerted and the victory he won at Leuctra. *He* had the satisfaction, indeed, to see both his parents rejoice in his success, and partake of his good fortune; but only the mother of Marcius, Volumnia, was living, and therefore holding himself obliged to pay her all that duty which would have belonged to his father, over and above what was due to herself, he thought he could never sufficiently express his tenderness and respect. He even married in compliance with her desire and request, and after his wife had borne him children, still lived in the same house with his mother.

At the time when the reputation and interest which his virtue had procured him in Rome was very great, the senate, taking the part of the richer sort of citizens, were at variance with the common people, who were used by their creditors with intolerable cruelty. Those that had something considerable were stripped of their goods, which were either detained for security, or sold; and those that had nothing were dragged into prison, and there bound with fetters, though their bodies were full of wounds, and worn out with fighting for their coun-



try. The last expedition they were engaged in was against the Sabines, on which occasion their rich creditors promised to treat them with more lenity, and, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, M. Valerius the Consul was guarantee of that promise. But when they had cheerfully undergone the fatigues of that war, and were returned victorious, and yet found that the usurers made them no abatement, and that the senate pretended to remember nothing of that agreement, but without any sort of concern saw them dragged to prison, and their goods seized upon as formerly, then they filled the city with tumult and sedition.

The enemy, apprized of these intestine broils, invaded the Roman territories, and laid them waste with fire and sword. And when the consuls called upon such as were able to bear arms to give in their names, not a man took any notice of it. Something was then to be done; but the magistrates differed in their opinions. Some thought the poor should have a little indulgence, and that the extreme rigour of the law ought to be softened. Others declared absolutely against that proposal, and particularly Marcius. Not that he thought the money a matter of great consequence, but he considered this specimen of the people's insolence as an attempt to subvert the laws, and the forerunner of farther disorders, which it became a wise government timely to restrain and suppress.

The senate assembled several times within the space of a few days, and debated this point; but as they came to no conclusion, on a sudden the commonalty rose one and all, and encouraging each other, they left the city, and withdrew to the hill now called *Sacred*, near the river Anio, but without committing any violence or other act of sedition. Only as they went along, they loudly complained, "That it was now a great while since the rich had driven them from their habitations; that Italy would any



where supply them with air and water, and a place of burial; and that Rome, if they stayed in it, would afford them no other privilege, unless it were such, to bleed and die in fighting for their wealthy oppressors."

The senate was then alarmed, and from the oldest men of their body selected the most moderate and popular to treat with the people. At the head of them was Menenius Agrippa, who after much entreaty addressed to them, and many arguments in defence of the senate, concluded his discourse with this celebrated fable. "The members of the human body once mutinied against the belly, and accused it of lying idle and useless, while they were all labouring and toiling to satisfy its appetites; but the belly only laughed at their simplicity, who knew not that though it received all the nourishment into itself, it prepared and distributed it again to all parts of the body. Just so, my fellow-citizens, said he, stands the case between the senate and you. For their necessary counsels, and acts of government, are productive of advantage to you all, and distribute their salutary influence amongst the whole people."

After this they were reconciled to the senate, having demanded and obtained the privilege of appointing five men,\* to defend their rights on all occasions. These are called tribunes of the people. The first that were elected, were Junius Brutus,†

\* The tribunes were at first five in number; but a few years after five more were added. Before the people left the *Mons Sacer*, they passed a law, by which the persons of the tribunes were made sacred. Their sole function was to interpose in all grievances offered the plebeians by their superiors. This interposing was called *intercessio*, and was performed by standing up and pronouncing the single word *Veto*, I forbid it. They had their seats placed at the door of the senate, and were never admitted into it, but when the consuls called them to ask their opinion upon some affair that concerned the interests of the people.

† The name of this tribune was Lucius Junius, and because



and Sicinius Vellutus, the leaders of the secession. When the breach was thus made up, the plebeians soon came to be enrolled as soldiers, and readily obeyed the orders of the consuls relative to the war. As for Marcius, though he was far from being pleased at the advantages which the people had gained, as it was a lessening of the authority of the patricians, and though he found a considerable part of the nobility of his opinion, yet he exhorted them not to be backward wherever the interest of their country was concerned, but to show themselves superior to the commonalty rather in virtue than in power.

Corioli was the capital of the country of the Volscians, with whom the Romans were at war. And as it was besieged by the consul Cominius, the rest of the Volscians were much alarmed; and assembled to succour it, intending to give the Romans battle under the walls, and to attack them on both sides. But after Cominius had divided his forces, and with part went to meet the Volscians without, who were marching against him, leaving Titus Lartius, an illustrious Roman, with the other part, to carry on the siege, the inhabitants of Corioli despised the body that were left, and sallied out to fight them. The Romans at first were obliged to give ground, and were driven to their entrenchments. But Marcius with a small party flew to their assistance, killed the foremost of the enemy, and stopping the rest in their career, with a loud voice called the Romans back. For he was (what Cato wanted a soldier to be) not only dreadful for the thunder of his arm, but of voice too, and had an aspect which struck his adversaries with terror and dismay. Many Romans then crowding about him, and being ready to second him, the enemy retired in confusion.

Lucius Junius Brutus was famed for delivering his country from the tyrannic yoke of the kings, he also assumed the surname of Brutus, which exposed him to a great deal of ridicule.



Nor was he satisfied with making them retire; he pressed hard upon their rear, and pursued them quite up to the gates. There he perceived that his men discontinued the pursuit, by reason of the shower of arrows which fell from the walls, and that none of them had any thoughts of rushing along with the fugitives into the city, which was filled with warlike people, who were all under arms: nevertheless, he exhorted and encouraged them to press forward, crying out, "That fortune had opened the gates rather to the victors than to the vanquished." But as few were willing to follow him, he broke through the enemy, and pushed into the town with the crowd, no one at first daring to oppose him, or even to look him in the face. But when he cast his eyes around, and saw so small a number within the walls, whose service he could make use of in that dangerous enterprise, and that friends and foes were mixed together, he summoned all his force, and performed the most incredible exploits, whether you consider his heroic strength, his amazing agility, or his bold and daring spirit; for he overpowered all that were in his way, forcing some to seek refuge in the farthest corners of the town, and others to give out and throw down their arms; which afforded Lartius an opportunity to bring in the rest of the Romans unmolested.

The city thus taken, most of the soldiers fell to plundering, which Marcius highly resented; crying out, "That it was a shame for them to run about after plunder, or, under pretence of collecting the spoils, to get out of the way of danger, while the consul and the Romans under his command were, perhaps, engaged with the enemy." As there were not many that listened to what he said, he put himself at the head of such as offered to follow him, and took the route which he knew would lead him to the consul's army; sometimes pressing his small party to hasten their march, and conjuring them not



to suffer their ardour to cool, and sometimes begging of the gods that the battle might not be over before he arrived, but that he might have his share in the glorious toils and dangers of his countrymen.

It was customary with the Romans of that age, when they were drawn up in order of battle, and ready to take up their shields and gird their garments about them, to make a nuncupative will, naming each his heir, in the presence of three or four witnesses. While the soldiers were thus employed, and the enemy in sight, Marcius came up. Some were startled at his first appearance, covered as he was with blood and sweat. But when he ran cheerfully up to the consul, took him by the hand, and told him that Corioli was taken, the consul clasped him to his heart: and those who heard the news of that success, and those who did but guess at it, were greatly animated, and with shouts demanded to be led on to the combat. Marcius inquired of Cominius in what manner the enemy's army was drawn up, and where their best troops were posted. Being answered, that the Antiates who were placed in the centre, were supposed to be the bravest and most warlike, "I beg it of you, then," said Marcius, "as a favour, that you will place me directly opposite to them." And the consul, admiring his spirit, readily granted his request.

When the battle was begun with the throwing of spears, Marcius advanced before the rest, and charged the centre of the Volscians with so much fury, that it was soon broken. Nevertheless, the wings attempted to surround him; and the consul, alarmed for him, sent to his assistance a select band which he had near his own person. A sharp conflict then ensued about Marcius, and a great carnage was quickly made; but the Romans pressed the enemy with so much vigour that they put them to flight. And when they were going upon the pursuit, they begged of Marcius, now almost weighed



down with wounds and fatigue, to retire to the camp. But he answered, "That it was not for conquerors to be tired," and so joined him in prosecuting the victory. The whole army of the Volscians was defeated, great numbers killed, and many made prisoners.

Next day, Marcius waiting upon the consul, and the army being assembled, Cominius mounted the rostrum; and having in the first place returned due thanks to the gods for such extraordinary success, addressed himself to Marcius. He began with a detail of his gallant actions, of which he had himself been partly an eye-witness, and which had partly been related to him by Lartius. Then out of the great quantity of treasure, the many horses and prisoners they had taken, he ordered him to take a tenth, before any distribution was made to the rest, beside making him a present of a fine horse with noble trappings, as a reward for his valour.

The army received this speech with great applause; and Marcius, stepping forward, said, "That he accepted of the horse, and was happy in the consul's approbation; but as for the rest, he considered it rather as a pecuniary reward than as a mark of honour, and therefore desired to be excused, being satisfied with his single share of the booty. One favour only in particular," continued he, "I desire, and beg I may be indulged in. I have a friend among the Volscians, bound with me in the sacred rites of hospitality, and a man of virtue and honour. He is now among the prisoners, and from easy and opulent circumstances reduced to servitude. Of the many misfortunes under which he labours, I should be glad to rescue him from one, which is that of being sold as a slave."

These words of Marcius were followed with still louder acclamations; his conquering the temptations of money being more admired than the valour he had exerted in battle. For even those who before re-



garded his superior honours with envy and jealousy, now thought him worthy of great things because he had greatly declined them, and were more struck with that virtue which led him to despise such extraordinary advantages, than with the merit which claimed them. Indeed, the right use of riches is more commendable than that of arms; and not to desire them at all, more glorious than to use them well.

When the acclamations were over, and the multitude silent again, Cominius subjoined, “ You cannot, indeed, my fellow-soldiers, force these gifts of yours upon a person so firmly resolved to refuse them; let us then give him what it is not in his power to decline, let us pass a vote that he be called **CORIOLANUS**, if his gallant behaviour at Corioli has not already bestowed that name upon him.” Hence came his third name of Coriolanus. By which it appears that Caius was the proper name; that the second name, Marcius, was that of the family; and that the third Roman appellative was a peculiar note of distinction, given afterwards on account of some particular act of fortune, or signature, or virtue of him that bore it. Thus among the Greeks additional names were given to some on account of their achievements, as *Soter, the preserver*, and *Callinicus, the victorious*; to others, for something remarkable in their persons, as *Physcon, the gore-bellied*, and *Gripus, the eagle-nosed*; or for their good qualities, as *Euergetes, the benefactor*, and *Philadelphus, the kind brother*; or their good fortune, as *Eudæmon, the prosperous*, a name given to the second prince of the family of the Batti. Several princes also have had satirical names bestowed upon them: Antigonus (for instance) was called *Doson, the man that will give to-morrow*, and Ptolomy was styled *Lamyras, the buffoon*. But appellations of this last sort were used with greater latitude among the Romans. One of the Metelli was distinguished by the name of *Dia-*



*dematus*, because he went a long time with a bandage, which covered an ulcer he had in his forehead : and another they called *Celer*, because with surprising celerity he entertained them with a funeral show of gladiators, a few days after his father's death. In our times, too, some of the Romans receive their names from the circumstances of their birth ; as that of *Proculus*, if born when their fathers are in a distant country ; and that of *Posthumus*, if born after their father's death ; and when twins come into the world, and one of them dies at the birth, the survivor is called *Vopiscus*. Names are also appropriated on account of bodily imperfections ; for amongst them we find not only *Sylla, the red*, and *Niger, the black* ; but even *Cacus, the blind*, and *Claudius, the lame* ; such persons by this custom being wisely taught, not to consider blindness or any other bodily misfortune as a reproach or disgrace, but to answer to appellations of that kind as their proper names. But this point might have been insisted upon with greater propriety in another place.

When the war was over, the demagogues stirred up another sedition. And as there was no new cause of disquiet or injury done the people, they made use of the mischiefs which were the necessary consequence of the former troubles and dissensions, as a handle against the patricians. For the greatest part of the ground being left uncultivated and unsown, and the war not permitting them to bring in bread corn from other countries, there was an extreme scarcity in Rome.\* The factious orators then seeing that corn was not brought to market, and that if the market could be supplied, the commonalty had but little money to buy with, slanderously asserted, that

\* The people withdrew to the sacred mount soon after the autumnal equinox, and the reconciliation with the patricians did not take place until the winter solstice, so that the seed-time was lost. And the Roman factors, who were sent to buy corn in other countries, were very unsuccessful.



the rich had caused the famine out of a spirit of revenge.

At this juncture there arrived ambassadors from the people of Velitræ, who offered to surrender their city to the Romans, and desired to have a number of new inhabitants to replenish it; a pestilential distemper having committed such ravages there, that scarce the tenth part of the inhabitants remained. The sensible part of the Romans thought this pressing necessity of Velitræ a seasonable and advantageous thing for Rome, as it would lessen the scarcity of provisions. They hoped, moreover, that the sedition would subside, if the city were purged of the troublesome part of the people, who most readily took fire at the harangues of their orators, and who were as dangerous to the state as so many superfluous and morbid humours are to the body. Such as these, therefore, the consuls singled out for the colony, and pitched upon others to serve in the war against the Volscians, contriving it so that employment abroad might still the intestine tumults, and believing, that when rich and poor, plebeians and patricians, came to bear arms together again, to be in the same camp, and to meet the same dangers, they would be disposed to treat each other with more gentleness and candour.

But the restless tribunes, Sicinius and Brutus, opposed both these designs, crying out, that the consuls disguised a most inhuman act under the plausible term of a colony; for inhuman it certainly was, to throw the poor citizens into a devouring gulf, by sending them to a place where the air was infected, and where noisome carcasses lay above ground, where also they would be at the disposal of a strange and cruel deity. And as if it were not sufficient to destroy some by famine, and to expose others to the plague, they involved them also into a needless war, that no kind of calamity might be wanting to com-



plete the ruin of the city, because it refused to continue in slavery to the rich.

The people, irritated by these speeches, neither obeyed the summons to be enlisted for the war, nor could be brought to approve the order to go and people Velitræ. While the senate were in doubt what step they should take, Marcius, now not a little elated by the honours he had received, by the sense of his own great abilities, and by the deference that was paid him by the principal persons in the state, stood foremost in opposition to the tribunes. The colony, therefore, was sent out, heavy fines being set upon such as refused to go. But as they declared absolutely against serving in the war, Marcius mustered up his own clients, and as many volunteers as he could procure, and with these made an inroad into the territories of the *Antiates*. There he found plenty of corn, and a great number of cattle and slaves, no part of which he reserved to himself, but led his troops back to Rome, loaded with the rich booty. The rest of the citizens then repenting of their obstinacy, and envying those who had got such a quantity of provisions, looked upon Marcius with an evil eye, not being able to endure the increase of his power and honour, which they considered as rising on the ruins of the people.

Soon after,\* Marcius stood for the consulship; on which occasion the commonalty began to relent, being sensible what a shame it would be to reject and affront a man of his family and virtue, and that too after he had done so many signal services to the public. It was the custom for those who were candidates for such an high office to solicit and caress the people in the *forum*, and, at those times, to be

\* It was the next year, being the third of the seventy-second Olympiad, four hundred and eighty-eight years before the Christian æra.



clad in a loose gown without the *tunic*; whether that humble dress was thought more suitable for suppliants, or whether it was for the convenience of showing their wounds, as so many tokens of valour. For it was not from any suspicion the citizens then had of bribery, that they required the candidates to appear before them ungirt and without any close garment, when they came to beg their votes; since it was much later than this, and indeed many ages after, that buying and selling stole in, and money came to be a means of gaining an election. Then corruption reaching also the tribunals and the camps, arms were subdued by money, and the commonwealth was changed into a monarchy. It was a shrewd saying, whoever said it, "That the man who first ruined the Roman people was he who first gave them treats and gratuities." But this mischief crept secretly and gradually in, and did not show its face in Rome for a considerable time. For we know not who it was that first bribed its citizens or its judges; but it is said, that in Athens, the first man who corrupted a tribunal, was Anytas, the son of Anthymion, when he was tried for treason in delivering up the fort of Pylos,\* at the latter end of the Peloponnesian war; a time when the golden age reigned in the Roman courts in all its simplicity.

When, therefore, Marcius showed the wounds and scars he had received in the many glorious battles he had fought for seventeen years successively, the people were struck with reverence for his virtue, and agreed to choose him consul. But when the day of election came, and he was conducted with great pomp into the *Campus Martius* by the senate in a body, all the patricians acting with more zeal and vigour than ever had been known on the like occa-

\* The translation of 1758, has the name of this fort with a French termination, *Pyle*, which is a clear proof that the Greek was not consulted.



sion; the commons then altered their minds, and their kindness was turned into envy and indignation. The malignity of these passions was farther assisted by the fear they entertained, that if a man so strongly attached to the interests of the senate, and so much respected by the nobility, should attain the consulship, he might utterly deprive the people of their liberty. Influenced by these considerations, they rejected Marcius, and appointed others to that office. The senate took this extremely ill, considering it as an affront rather intended against them than against Marcius. As for Marcius, he resented that treatment highly, indulging his irascible passions upon a supposition, that they have something great and exalted in them; and wanting a due mixture of gravity and mildness, which are the chief political virtues, and the fruits of reason and education. He did not consider, that the man who applies himself to public business, and undertakes to converse with men, should, above all things, avoid that *overbearing austerity*, which (as *Plato* says) *is always the companion of solitude*, and cultivate in his heart the patience which some people so much deride. Marcius, then, being plain and artless, but rigid and inflexible withal, was persuaded, that to vanquish opposition was the highest attainment of a gallant spirit. He never dreamed that such obstinacy is rather the effect of the weakness and effeminacy of a distempered mind, which breaks out in violent passions, like so many tumours; and therefore he went away in great disorder, and full of rancour against the people. Such of the young nobility as were most distinguished by the pride of birth and greatness of spirit, who had always been wonderfully taken with Marcius, and then unluckily happened to attend him, inflamed his resentment, by expressing their own grief and indignation. For he was their leader in every expedition, and their instructor in the art of war: he it



was who inspired them with a truly virtuous emulation, and taught them to rejoice in their own success, without envying the exploits of others.

In the mean time, a great quantity of bread-corn was brought to Rome, being partly bought up in Italy, and partly a present from Gelon, king of Syracuse. The aspect of affairs appeared now to be encouraging; and it was hoped, that the intestine broils would cease with the scarcity. The senate, therefore, being immediately assembled, the people stood in crowds without, waiting for the issue of their deliberations. They expected, that the market-rates for the corn that was bought would be moderate, and that a distribution of that which was a gift would be made *gratis*; for there were some who proposed, that the senate should dispose of it in that manner. But Marcius stood up, and severely censured those that spoke in favour of the commonalty, calling them demagogues and traitors to the nobility. He said, “They nourished to their own great prejudice the pernicious seeds of boldness and petulance, which had been sown among the populace, when they should rather have nipped them in the bud, and not have suffered the plebeians to strengthen themselves with the tribunitial power. That the people were now become formidable, gaining whatever point they pleased, and not doing any one thing against their inclination; so that living in a sort of anarchy, they would no longer obey the consuls, nor acknowledge any superiors but those whom they called their own magistrates. That the senators who advised that distributions should be made in the manner of the Greeks, whose government was entirely democratical, were effecting the ruin of the constitution, by encouraging the insolence of the rabble. For that they would not suppose they received such favours for the campaign which they had refused to make, or for the secessions by which they had deserted their country, or for the calumnies which they had coun-



tenanced against the senate: but, (continued he,) they will think that we yield to them through fear, and grant them such indulgences by way of flattery; and as they will expect to find us always so complaisant, there will be no end to their disobedience, no period to their turbulent and seditious practices. It would, therefore, be perfect madness to take such a step. Nay, if we are wise, we shall entirely abolish the tribunes' office,\* which has made ciphers of the consuls, and divided the city in such a manner, that it is no longer one as formerly, but broken into two parts, which will never knit again, or cease to vex and harass each other with all the evils of discord."†

Marcius, haranguing to this purpose, inspired the young senators and almost all the men of fortune with his own enthusiasm; and they cried out that he was the only man in Rome who had a spirit above the meanness of flattery and submission: yet some of the aged senators foresaw the consequence, and opposed his measures. In fact, the issue was unfortunate. For the tribunes who were present, when they saw that Marcius would have a majority of voices, ran out to the people, loudly calling upon them to stand by their own magistrates and give their best assistance. An assembly then was held in a tumultuary manner, in which the speeches of Marcius were recited, and the plebeians in their fury had thoughts of breaking in upon the senate. The tribunes pointed their rage against Marcius in particular, by impeaching him in form, and sent for him to make his defence. But as he spurned the messengers, they went themselves, attended by the ædiles, to bring him by force, and began to lay

\* The tribunes had lately procured a law, which made it penal to interrupt them when they were speaking to the people.

† Plutarch has omitted the most aggravating passage in Coriolanus's speech, wherein he proposed the holding up the price of bread-corn as high as ever, to keep the people in dependance and subjection.



hands on him. Upon this the patricians stood up for him, drove off the tribunes, and beat the ædiles; till night coming on broke off the quarrel. Early next morning, the consuls observing that the people, now extremely incensed, flocked from all quarters into the *forum*; and dreading what might be the consequence to the city, hastily convened the senate, and moved, "That they should consider how with kind words and favourable resolutions they might bring the commons to temper; for that this was not a time to display their ambition, nor would it be prudent to pursue disputes about the point of honour at a critical and dangerous juncture, which required the greatest moderation and delicacy of conduct." As the majority agreed to the motion, they went out to confer with the people, and used their best endeavours to pacify them, coolly refuting calumnies, and modestly, though not without some degree of sharpness, complaining of their behaviour. As to the price of bread-corn and other provisions, they declared, there should be no difference between them.

Great part of the people were moved with this application, and it clearly appeared, by their candid attention, that they were ready to close with it. Then the tribunes stood up and said, "That since the senate acted with such moderation, the people were not unwilling to make concessions in their turn;" but they insisted that Marcius should come and answer to these articles: *Whether he had not stirred up the senate to the confounding of all government, and to the destroying of the people's privileges? Whether he had not refused to obey their summons? Whether he had not beaten and otherwise maltreated the ædiles in the forum: and by these means (so far as in him lay) levied war, and brought the citizens to sheath their swords in each other's bosom?* These things they said with a design, either to humble Marcius, by making him submit to entreat the people's clemency, which was much against his haughty



temper; or, if he followed his native bent, to draw him to make the breach incurable. The latter they were in hopes of, and the rather because they knew the man well. He stood as if he would have made his defence, and the people waited in silence for what he had to say. But when, instead of the submissive language that was expected, he began with an aggravating boldness, and rather accused the commons, than defended himself; when with the tone of his voice and the fierceness of his looks, he expressed an intrepidity bordering upon insolence and contempt, they lost all patience; and Sicinius, the boldest of the tribunes, after a short consultation with his colleagues, pronounced openly, that the tribunes condemned Marcius to die. He then ordered the ædiles to take him immediately up to the top of the Tarpeian rock, and throw him down the precipice. However, when they came to lay hands on him, the action appeared horrible even to many of the plebeians. The patricians, shocked and astonished, ran with great outcries to his assistance, and got Marcius in the midst of them, some interposing to keep off the arrest, and others stretching out their hands in supplication to the multitude: but no regard was paid to words and entreaties amidst such disorder and confusion, until the friends and relations of the tribunes perceiving it would be impossible to carry off Marcius and punish him capitally, without first spilling much patrician blood, persuaded them to alter the cruel and unprecedented part of the sentence; not to use violence in the affair, or put him to death without form of trial, but to refer all to the people's determination in full assembly.

Sicinius, then a little mollified, asked the patricians "What they meant by taking Marcius out of the hands of the people, who were resolved to punish him?" To which they replied by another question, "What do you mean by thus dragging one of the worthiest men in Rome, without trial, to a barbarous



and illegal execution?" "If that be all, (said Sici-nius,) you shall no longer have a pretence for your quarrels and factious behaviour to the people: for they grant you what you desire; the man shall have his trial. And as for you, Marcius, we cite you to appear the third market-day, and satisfy the citizens of your innocence, if you can; for then by their suffrages your affair will be decided." The patricians were content with this compromise; and thinking themselves happy in carrying Marcius off, they retired.

Meanwhile, before the third market-day, which was a considerable space, for the Romans hold their markets every ninth day, and thence call them *Nundinæ*, war broke out with the Antiates,\* which, because it was like to be of some continuance, gave them hopes of evading the judgment, since there would be time for the people to become more tractable, to moderate their anger, or perhaps let it entirely evaporate in the business of that expedition. But they soon made peace with the Antiates, and returned: whereupon, the fears of the senate were renewed, and they often met to consider how things might be so managed, that they should neither give up Marcius, nor leave room for the tribunes to throw the people into new disorders. On this occasion, Appius Claudius, who was the most violent adversary the commons had, declared, "That the senate would betray and ruin themselves, and absolutely destroy the constitution, if they should once suffer the plebeians to assume a power of suffrage against the patricians." But the oldest and most popular of the senators† were of opinion, "That the people, instead of behaving with more harshness and seve-

\* Advice was suddenly brought to Rome, that the people of Antium had seized and confiscated the ships belonging to Gelon's ambassadors in their return to Sicily, and had even imprisoned the ambassadors. Hereupon they took up arms to chastise the Antiates, but they submitted and made satisfaction.

† Valerius was at the head of these. He insisted also at large on the horrible consequences of a civil war.



rity, would become mild and gentle, if that power were indulged them ; since they did not despise the senate, but rather thought themselves despised by it ; and the prerogative of judging would be such an honour to them, that they would be perfectly satisfied, and immediately lay aside all resentment."

Marcus, then seeing the senate perplexed between their regard for him and fear of the people, asked the tribunes, "What they accused him of, and upon what charge he was to be tried before the people?" Being told, "That he would be tried for treason against the commonwealth, in designing to set himself up as a tyrant ;"\* "Let me go then, (said he,) to the people, and make my defence ; I refuse no form of trial, nor any kind of punishment, if I be found guilty. Only allege no other crime against me, and do not impose upon the senate." The tribunes agreed to these conditions, and promised that the cause should turn upon this one point.

But the first thing they did, after the people were assembled, was to compel them to give their voices by tribes,† and not by centuries ; thus contriving that the meanest and most seditious part of the populace, and those who had no regard to justice or honour, might outvote such as had borne arms, or were of

\* It was never known that any person who affected to set himself up tyrant, joined with the nobility against the people, but on the contrary conspired with the people against the nobility. "Besides," said he, in his defence, "it was to save these citizens, that I have received the wounds you see : let the tribunes show, if they can, how such actions are consistent with the treacherous designs they lay to my charge."

† From the reign of Servius Tullius, the voices had been always gathered by centuries. The consuls were for keeping up the ancient custom, being well apprised that they could save Coriolanus, if the voices were reckoned by centuries, of which the knights and the wealthiest of the citizens made the majority, being pretty sure of ninety-eight out of a hundred and seventy-three. But the artful tribunes, alleging that, in an affair relating to the rights of the people, every citizen's vote ought to have its due weight, would not by any means consent to let the voices be collected otherwise than by tribes.



some fortune and character. In the next place, they passed by the charge of his affecting the sovereignty, because they could not prove it, and, instead of it, repeated what Marcius sometime before had said in the senate, against lowering the price of corn, and for abolishing the tribunitial power. And they added to the impeachment a new article, namely, his not bringing into the public treasury the spoils he had taken in the country of the Antiates, but dividing them among the soldiers.\* This last accusation is said to have discomposed Marcius more than all the rest; for it was what he did not expect, and he could not immediately think of an answer that would satisfy the commonalty; the praises he bestowed upon those who made that campaign with him, serving only to raise an outcry against him from the majority, who were not concerned in it. At last, when they came to vote, he was condemned by a majority of three tribes, and the penalty to be inflicted upon him was perpetual banishment.

After the sentence was pronounced the people were more elated, and went off in greater transports than they ever did on account of a victory in the field; the senate, on the other hand, were in the greatest distress, and repented that they had not run the last risk, rather than suffer the people to possess themselves of so much power, and use it in so insolent a manner. There was no need then to look upon their dress, or any other mark of distinction, to know which was a plebeian and which a patrician; the man that exulted, was a plebeian; and the man that was dejected, a patrician.

\* "This," said the tribune Decius, "is a plain proof of his evil designs: with the public money he secured to himself creatures and guards, and supporters of his intended usurpation. Let him make it appear that he had power to dispose of this booty without violating the laws. Let him answer to this one article, without dazzling us with the splendid show of his crowns and scars, or using any other arts to blind the assembly."



Marcius alone was unmoved and unhumbled. Still lofty in his port and firm in his countenance, he appeared not to be sorry for himself, and to be the only one of the nobility that was not. This air of fortitude was not, however, the effect of reason or moderation, but the man was buoyed up by anger and indignation. And this, though the vulgar know it not, has its rise from grief, which when it catches flame, is turned to anger, and then bids adieu to all feebleness and dejection. Hence, the angry man is courageous, just as he who has a fever is hot, the mind being upon the stretch and in a violent agitation. His subsequent behaviour soon showed that he was thus affected. For having returned to his own house, and embraced his mother and his wife, who lamented their fate with the weakness of women, he exhorted them to bear it with patience, and then hastened to one of the city-gates, being conducted by the patricians in a body. Thus he quitted Rome, without asking or receiving aught at any man's hand; and took with him only three or four clients. He spent a few days in a solitary manner at some of his farms near the city, agitated with a thousand different thoughts, such as his anger suggested; in which he did not propose any advantage to himself, but considered only how he might satisfy his revenge against the Romans. At last he determined to spirit up a cruel war against them from some neighbouring nation; and for this purpose to apply first to the Volscians, whom he knew to be yet strong both in men and money, and whom he supposed to be rather exasperated and provoked to farther conflicts, than absolutely subdued.

There was then a person at Antium, Tullus Aufidius by name,\* highly distinguished among the Vol-

\* Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus call him Tullus Attius; and with them an anonymous MS. agrees. *Aufidius*, however, which is very near the Bodleian reading, has a Latin sound, and probably was what Plutarch meant to write.



scians, by his wealth, his valour, and noble birth. Marcius was very sensible, that of all the Romans, himself was the man whom Tullus most hated. For, excited by ambition and emulation, as young warriors usually are, they had in several engagements encountered each other with menaces, and bold defiance, and thus had added personal enmity to the hatred which reigned between the two nations. But notwithstanding all this, considering the great generosity of Tullus, and knowing that he was more desirous than any of the Volscians, of an opportunity to return upon the Romans part of the evils his country had suffered, he took a method which strongly confirms that saying of the poet,

Stern Wrath, how strong thy sway! though life's the forfeit,  
Thy promise must be gained.

For, putting himself in such clothes and habiliments as were most likely to prevent his being known, like Ulysses,

He stole into the hostile town.

It was evening when he entered, and though many people met him in the streets, not one of them knew him. He passed therefore on to the house of Tullus, where he got in undiscovered, and having directly made up to the fire-place,\* he seated himself without saying a word, covering his face, and remaining in a composed posture. The people of the house were very much surprised; yet they did not venture to disturb him, for there was something of dignity both in his person and his silence; but they went and related the strange adventure to Tullus, who was then at supper. Tullus, upon this, rose from table, and coming to Coriolanus, asked him *Who he was, and upon what business he was come?*

\* The fire-place, having the domestic gods in it, was esteemed sacred; and therefore all suppliants resorted to it, as to an asylum.



Coriolanus, uncovering his face, paused awhile, and then thus addressed him: "If thou dost not yet know me, Tullus, but distrustest thy own eyes, I must of necessity be my own accuser. I am Caius Marcius, who have brought so many calamities upon the Volscians, and bear the additional name of Coriolanus, which will not suffer me to deny that imputation, were I disposed to it. For all the labours and dangers I have undergone, I have no other reward left but that appellation, which distinguishes my enmity to your nation, and which cannot indeed be taken from me. Of every thing else I am deprived by the envy and outrage of the people, on the one hand, and the cowardice and treachery of the magistrates and those of my own order, on the other. Thus driven out an exile, I am come a suppliant to thy household gods; not for shelter and protection, for why should I come hither, if I were afraid of death? but for vengeance against those who have expelled me, which, methinks, I begin to take, by putting myself into thy hands. If, therefore, thou art disposed to attack the enemy, come on, brave Tullus, avail thyself of my misfortunes; let my personal distress be the common happiness of the Volscians. You may be assured, I shall fight much better for you than I have fought against you, because they who know perfectly the state of the enemy's affairs are much more capable of annoying them, than such as do not know them. But if thou hast given up all thoughts of war, I neither desire to live, nor is it fit for thee to preserve a person who of old has been thine enemy, and now is not able to do thee any sort of service."

Tullus, delighted with this address, gave him his hand, and "Rise," said he, "Marcius, and take courage. The present you thus make of yourself is inestimable; and you may assure yourself that the Volscians will not be ungrateful." Then he entertained him at his table with great kindness; and the



next and the following days they consulted together about the war.

Rome was then in great confusion, by reason of the animosity of the nobility against the commons, which was considerably heightened by the late condemnation of Marcius. Many prodigies were also announced by private persons, as well as by the priests and diviners. One of which was as follows: Titus Latinus,\* a man of no high rank, but of great modesty and candour, not addicted to superstition, much less to vain pretences to what is extraordinary, had this dream. Jupiter, he thought, appeared to him, and ordered him to tell the senate, *That they had provided him a very bad and ill-favoured leader of the dance in the sacred procession.* When he had seen this vision, he said, he paid but little regard to it at first. It was presented a second and a third time, and he neglected it: whereupon he had the unhappiness to see his son sicken and die, and he himself was suddenly struck in such a manner, as to lose the use of his limbs. These particulars he related in the senate-house, being carried on his couch for that purpose. And he had no sooner made an end, than he perceived, as they tell us, his strength return, and rose up and walked home without help.

The senate were much surprised, and made a strict inquiry into the affair; the result of which was, that a certain householder had delivered up one of his slaves, who had been guilty of some offence, to his other servants, with an order to whip him through the market-place, and then put him to death. While they were executing this order, and scourging the wretch, who writhed himself, through the violence of pain, into various postures,† the procession happened

\* Livy calls him Titus Atinius.

† According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the master had given orders that the slave should be punished at the head of the procession, to make the ignominy the more notorious; which was a still greater affront to the deity in whose honour the procession was led up.



to come up. Many of the people that composed it were fired with indignation, for the sight was excessively disagreeable and shocking to humanity; yet nobody gave him the least assistance; only curses and execrations were vented against the man who punished with so much cruelty. For in those times they treated their slaves with great moderation, and this was natural, because they worked and even eat with them. It was deemed a great punishment for a slave who had committed a fault to take up that piece of wood with which they supported the thill of a waggon, and carry it round the neighbourhood. For he that was thus exposed to the derision of the family and other inhabitants of the place, entirely lost his credit, and was styled *Furcifer*; the Romans calling that piece of timber *furca*, which the Greeks call *hypostates*, that is, a *supporter*.

When Latinus had given the senate an account of his dream, and they doubted *who this ill-favoured and bad leader of the dance* might be, the excessive severity of the punishment put some of them in mind of the slave who was whipped through the market-place, and afterwards put to death. All the priests agreeing that he must be the person meant, his master had a heavy fine laid upon him, and the procession and games were exhibited anew in honour of Jupiter. Hence it appears, that Numa's religious institutions in general are very wise, and that this in particular is highly conducive to the purposes of piety, namely, that when the magistrates or priests are employed in any sacred ceremony, a herald goes before, and proclaims aloud, *Hoc age*, i. e. *be attentive to this*; hereby commanding every body to regard the solemn acts of religion, and not to suffer any business or avocation to intervene and disturb them; as well knowing, that men's attention, especially in what concerns the worship of the gods, is seldom fixed, but by a sort of violence and constraint.



But it is not only in so important a case that the Romans begin anew their sacrifices, their processions, and games : they do it for very small matters. If one of the horses that draw the chariots called *Tensæ*, in which are placed the images of the gods, happened to stumble, or if the charioteer took the reins in his left hand ; the whole procession was to be repeated. And in later ages they have set about one sacrifice thirty several times, on account of some defect or inauspicious appearance in it. Such reverence have the Romans paid to the Supreme Being.

Meantime Marcius and Tullus held secret conferences with the principal Volscians, in which they exhorted them to begin the war, while Rome was torn in pieces with factious disputes ; but a sense of honour restrained some of them from breaking the truce which was concluded for two years. The Romans, however, furnished them with a pretence for it, having, through some suspicion or false suggestion, caused proclamation to be made at one of the public shows or games, that all the Volscians should quit the town before sunset. Some say, it was a stratagem contrived by Marcius, who suborned a person to go to the consuls, and accuse the Volscians of a design to attack the Romans during the games, and to set fire to the city. This proclamation exasperated the whole Volscian nation against the Romans ; and Tullus, greatly aggravating the affront,\* at last persuaded them to send to Rome to demand that the lands and cities which had been taken from them in the war should be restored. The senate having heard what the ambassadors had to say, answered with indignation, “ that the Vol-

\* “ We alone,” said he, “ of all the different nations now in Rome, are not thought worthy to see the games. We alone, like the profanest wretches and outlaws, are driven from a public festival. Go, and tell in all your cities and villages the distinguishing mark the Romans have put upon us.”



scians might be the first to take up arms, but the Romans would be the last to lay them down." Hereupon, Tullus summoned a general assembly of his countrymen, whom he advised to send for Marcius, and forgetting all past injuries, to rest satisfied that the service he would do them, now their ally, would greatly exceed all the damage they had received from him, while their enemy.

Marcius accordingly was called in, and made an oration to the people; who found that he knew how to speak as well as fight, and that he excelled in capacity as well as courage, and therefore they joined him in commission with Tullus. As he was afraid that the Volscians would spend much time in preparations, and so lose a favourable opportunity for action, he left it to the magistrates and other principal persons in Antium to provide troops and whatever else was necessary, while he, without making any set levies, took a number of volunteers, and with them overran the Roman territories before any body in Rome could expect it. There he made so much booty, that the Volscians found it difficult to carry it off, and consume it in the camp. But the great quantity of provisions he collected, and the damage he did the enemy by committing such spoil, was the least part of the service in this expedition. The great point he had in view in the whole matter, was to increase the people's suspicions of the nobility. For, while he ravaged the whole country, he was very attentive to spare the lands of the patricians, and to see that nothing should be carried off from them. Hence, the ill opinion the two parties had of each other; and consequently the troubles grew greater than ever; the patricians accusing the plebeians of unjustly driving out one of the bravest men in Rome, and the plebeians reproaching *them* with bringing Marcius upon them, to indulge their revenge, and with sitting secure spectators of what others suffered by the war, while the war itself was a guard to their



lands and subsistence. Marcius having thus effected his purpose, and inspired the Volscians with courage, not only to meet, but even to despise the enemy, drew off his party without being molested.

The Volscian forces assembled with great expedition and alacrity : and they appeared so considerable, that it was thought proper to leave part to garrison their towns, while the rest marched against the Romans. Coriolanus leaving it in the option of Tullus which corps he would command, Tullus observed, that as his colleague was not at all inferior to himself in valour, and had hitherto fought with better success, he thought it most advisable for *him* to lead the army into the field, while himself stayed behind to provide for the defence of the towns, and to supply the troops that made the campaign with every thing necessary.\*

Marcius strengthened still more by this division of the command, marched first against Circeii,† a Roman colony ; and as it surrendered without resistance, he would not suffer it to be plundered. After this he laid waste the territories of the Latins, expecting that the Romans would hazard a battle for the Latins, who were their allies, and by frequent messengers called upon them for assistance. But the commons of Rome showed no alacrity in the affair, and the consuls, whose office was almost expired, were not willing to run such a risk, and therefore rejected the request of the Latins. Marcius then turned his arms against Tolerium, Labici, Pedum,

\* It would have been very imprudent in Tullus to have left Coriolanus, who had been an enemy, and now might possibly be only a pretended friend, at the head of an army in the bowels of his country, while he was marching at the head of another against Rome.

† For the right terminations of this, and other towns soon after mentioned, see Livy, book ii. c. 39. Plutarch calls the town *Cir-cæum*. His error is much greater, when a little below he writes *Cloeliæ* instead of *Cluilæ*. Sometimes too, the former translator makes a mistake where Plutarch had made none.



and Bola, cities of Latium, which he took by assault ; and because they made resistance, sold the inhabitants as slaves, and plundered their houses. At the same time he took particular care of such as voluntarily came over to him ; and that they might not sustain any damage against his will, he always encamped at the greatest distance he could, and would not even touch upon their lands, if he could avoid it.

Afterwards he took Bollæ, which is little more than twelve miles from Rome, where he put to the sword almost all that were of age to bear arms, and got much plunder. The rest of the Volscians, who were left as a safeguard to the towns, had not patience to remain at home any longer, but ran with their weapons in their hands to Marcius, declaring that they knew no other leader or general but him. His name and his valour were renowned through Italy. All were astonished that one man's changing sides could make so prodigious an alteration in affairs.

Nevertheless, there was nothing but disorder at Rome. The Romans refused to fight, and passed their time in cabals, seditious speeches, and mutual complaints ; until news was brought that Coriolanus had laid siege to Lavinium, where the holy symbols of the gods of their fathers were placed, and from whence they derived their original, that being the first city which Æneas built. A wonderful and universal change of opinion then appeared among the people, and a very strange and absurd one among the patricians. The people were desirous to annul the sentence against Marcius, and to recal him to Rome, but the senate being assembled to deliberate on that point, finally rejected the proposition ; either out of a perverse humour of opposing whatever measure the people espoused, or perhaps unwilling that Coriolanus should owe his return to the favour of the people ; or else having conceived some resentment against him for harassing and distressing all the Romans, when he had been injured only by a part, and for



showing himself an enemy to his country, in which he knew the most respectable body had both sympathized with him, and shared in his ill-treatment: this resolution being announced to the commons,\* it was not in their power to proceed to vote or to pass a bill; for a previous decree of the senate was necessary.

At this news Coriolanus was still more exasperated; so that, quitting the siege of Lavinium,† he marched with great fury towards Rome, and encamped only five miles from it, at the *Fossæ Cluiliæ*. The sight of him caused great terror and confusion, but for the present it appeased the sedition: for neither magistrate nor senator durst any longer oppose the people's desire to recal him. When they saw the women running up and down the streets, and the supplications and tears of the aged men at the altars of the gods, when all courage and spirit were gone, and salutary councils were no more; then they acknowledged that the people were right in endeavouring to be reconciled to Coriolanus, and that the senate were under a great mistake, in beginning to indulge the passions of anger and revenge at a time when they should have renounced them. All, therefore, agreed to send ambassadors to Coriolanus to offer him liberty to return, and to entreat him to put an end to the war. Those that went on the part of the senate, being all either relations or friends of Coriolanus, expected at the first interview much kindness from a man who was thus connected with them. But it happened quite otherwise; for, being conducted through the Volscian ranks, they found him seated in council, with a number of great officers, and with an insufferable appearance of pomp and

\* Perhaps the senate now refused to comply with the demands of the people, either to clear themselves from the suspicion of maintaining a correspondence with Coriolanus, or possibly out of that magnanimity which made the Romans averse to peace, when they were attended with bad success in war.

† He left a body of troops to continue the blockade.



severity. He bade them then declare their business, which they did in a very modest and humble manner, as became the state of their affairs.

When they had made an end of speaking, he answered them with much bitterness and high resentment of the injuries done him; and as general of the Volscians, he insisted "That the Romans should restore all the cities and lands which they had taken in the former wars; and that they should grant by decree the freedom of the city to the Volscians, as they had done to the Latins; for that no lasting peace could be made between the two nations, but upon these just and equal conditions." He gave them thirty days to consider of them; and having dismissed the ambassadors, he immediately retired from the Roman territories. //

Several among the Volscians, who for a long time had envied his reputation, and been uneasy at the interest he had with the people, availed themselves of this circumstance to calumniate and reproach him. Tullus himself was of the number. Not that he had received any particular injury from Coriolanus; but he was led away by a passion too natural to man. It gave him pain to find his own glory obscured, and himself entirely neglected by the Volscians, who looked upon Coriolanus as their supreme head, and thought that others might well be satisfied with that portion of power and authority which he thought proper to allow them. Hence, secret hints were first given, and in their private cabals his enemies expressed their dissatisfaction, giving the name of treason to his retreat. For though he had not betrayed their cities or armies, yet they said he had traitorously given up time, by which these and all other things are both won and lost. He had allowed them a respite of no less than thirty days, knowing their affairs to be so embarrassed, that they wanted such a space to re-establish them.

Coriolanus, however, did not spend those thirty



days idly. He harassed the enemy's allies,\* laid waste their lands, and took seven great and populous cities in that interval. The Romans did not venture to send them any succours. They were as spiritless, and as little disposed to the war, as if their bodies had been relaxed and benumbed with the palsy.

When the term was expired, and Coriolanus returned with all his forces, they sent a second embassy, "To entreat him to lay aside his resentment, to draw off the Volscians from their territories, and then to proceed as should seem most conducive to the advantage of both nations. For that the Romans would not give up any thing through fear; but if he thought it reasonable that the Volscians should be indulged in some particular points, they would be duly considered if they laid down their arms." Coriolanus replied, "That as general of the Volscians, he would give them no answer; but as one who was yet a citizen of Rome, he would advise and exhort them to entertain humble thoughts, and to come within three days with a ratification of the just conditions he had proposed. At the same time he assured them, that if their resolutions should be of a different nature, it would not be safe for them to come any more into his camp with empty words."

The senate, having received the report of the ambassadors, considered the commonwealth as ready to sink in the waves of a dreadful tempest, and therefore cast the last, the *sacred anchor*, as it is called. They ordered all the priests of the gods, the ministers and guardians of the mysteries, and all that, by the ancient usage of their country, practised divination by the flight of birds, to go to Coriolanus, in their robes, with the ensigns which they bear in the du-

\* By this he prevented the allies of the Romans from assisting them, and guarded against the charge of treachery, which some of the Volscians were ready to bring against him.



ties of their office, and exert their utmost endeavours to persuade him to desist from the war, and then to treat with his countrymen of articles of peace for the Volscians. When they came, he did indeed vouchsafe to admit them into the camp, but showed them no other favour, nor gave them a milder answer than the others had received; he bade them, in short, "either accept the former proposals, or prepare for war."

When the priests returned, the Romans resolved to keep close within the city and to defend the walls; intending only to repulse the enemy, should he attack them, and placing their chief hopes on the accidents of time and fortune: for they knew of no resource within themselves: the city was full of trouble and confusion, terror, and unhappy presages. At last something happened similar to what is often mentioned by Homer, but which men in general are little inclined to believe. For when, on occasion of any great and uncommon event, he says,

Pallas inspired that counsel;

and again,

But some immortal power who rules the mind  
Changed their resolves;

and elsewhere,

The thought spontaneous rising,  
Or by some god inspired——

They despise the poet, as if, for the sake of absurd notions and incredible fables, he endeavoured to take away our liberty of will. A thing which Homer never dreamed of: for whatever happens in the ordinary course of things, and is the effect of reason and consideration, he often ascribes to our own powers; as,

—— My own great mind  
I then consulted.



And in another place,

Achilles heard with grief; and various thoughts  
Perplex'd his mighty mind.

Once more,

————— But she in vain  
Tempted Bellerophon. The noble youth  
With Wisdom's shield was arm'd.

And in extraordinary and wonderful actions, which require some supernatural impulse and enthusiastic movement, he never introduces the Deity as depriving man of freedom of will, but as moving the will. He does not represent the heavenly Power as producing the resolution, but ideas which lead to the resolution. The act, therefore, is by no means involuntary, since occasion only is given to free operations, and confidence and good hope are super-added. For either the Supreme Being must be excluded from all causality and influence upon our actions, or it must be confessed that this is the only way in which he assists men and co-operates with them; since it is not to be supposed that he fashions our corporeal organs, or directs the motions of our hands and feet to the purposes he designs, but that by certain motives and ideas which he suggests, he either excites the active powers of the will, or else restrains them.\*

The Roman women were then dispersed in the several temples, but the greatest part and the most illustrious of the matrons made their supplications at the altar of Jupiter Capitolinus. Among the last was Valeria, the sister of the great Publicola, a person who had done the Romans the most considerable services both in peace and war. Publicola died some time before, as we have related in his

\* Plutarch represents the divine assistance as a *moral influence*, prevailing (if it does prevail) by rational motives. And the best Christian divines describe it in the same manner.



life; but Valeria still lived in the greatest esteem; for her life did honour to her high birth. This woman discerning, by some divine impulse, what would be the best expedient, rose and called upon the other matrons to attend her to the house of Volumnia,\* the mother of Coriolanus. When she entered, and found her sitting with her daughter-in-law, and with the children of Coriolanus on her lap, she approached her with her female companions, and spoke to this effect: "We address ourselves to you, Volumnia and Virgilia, as women to women, without any decree of the senate or order of the consuls. But our god, we believe, lending a merciful ear to our prayers, put it in our minds to apply to you, and to entreat you to do a thing that will not only be salutary to us and the other citizens, but more glorious for you, if you hearken to us, than the reducing their fathers and husbands from mortal enmity to peace and friendship was to the daughters of the Sabines. Come then, go along with us to Coriolanus; join your instances to ours; and give a true and honourable testimony to your country, that though she has received the greatest injuries from him, yet she has neither done nor resolved upon any thing against you in her anger, but restores you safe into his hands, though perhaps she may not obtain any better terms to herself on that account."

When Valeria had thus spoken, the rest of the women joined her request. Volumnia gave them this answer: "Besides the share which we have in the general calamity, we are, my friends, in particular very unhappy; since Marcius is lost to us, his glory obscured, and his virtue gone; since we behold him surrounded by the arms of the enemies of his country, not as their prisoner, but their commander. But it is still a greater misfortune to us,

\* Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Livy call his mother Veturia, and his wife Volumnia.



if our country is become so weak as to have need to repose her hopes upon us. For I know not whether he will have any regard for us, since he has had none for his country, which he used to prefer to his mother, to his wife and children. Take us, however, and make what use of us you please. Lead us to him. If we can do nothing else, we can expire at his feet in supplicating for Rome."

She then took the children and Virgilia with her,\* and went with the other matrons to the Volscian camp. The sight of them produced, even in the enemy, compassion and a reverential silence. Coriolanus, who then happened to be seated upon the tribunal with his principal officers, seeing the women approach, was greatly agitated and surprised. Nevertheless, he endeavoured to retain his wonted sternness and inexorable temper, though he perceived that his wife was at the head of them. But unable to resist the emotions of affection, he could not suffer them to address him as he sat. He descended from the tribunal, and ran to meet them. First he embraced his mother for a considerable time, and afterwards his wife and children, neither refraining from tears nor any other instance of natural tenderness.

When he had sufficiently indulged his passion, and perceived that his mother wanted to speak, he called the Volscian counsellors to him, and Volumnia expressed herself to this purpose: "You see, my son, by our attire and miserable looks, and therefore I may spare myself the trouble of declaring, to what condition your banishment has reduced us. Think with yourself whether we are not the most unhappy of women, when fortune has changed the

\* Valeria first gave advice of this design to the consuls, who proposed it in the senate, where, after long debates, it was approved of by the fathers. Then Veturia, and the most illustrious of the Roman matrons, in chariots which the consuls had ordered to be got ready for them, took their way to the enemy's camp.



spectacle that should have been the most pleasing in the world, into the most dreadful; when Volumnia beholds her son, and Virgilia her husband, encamped in a hostile manner before the walls of his native city. And what to others is the greatest consolation under misfortune and adversity, I mean prayer to the gods, to us is rendered impracticable; for we cannot at the same time beg victory for our country and your preservation, but what our worst enemies would imprecate on us as a curse, must of necessity be interwoven with our prayers. Your wife and children must either see their country perish, or you. As to my own part, I will not live to see this war decided by fortune. If I cannot persuade you to prefer friendship and union to enmity and its ruinous consequences, and so to become a benefactor to both sides, rather than the destruction of one, you must take this along with you, and prepare to expect it, that you shall not advance against your country, without trampling upon the dead body of her that bore you. For it does not become me to wait for that day, when my son shall be either led captive by his fellow-citizens, or triumph over Rome. If, indeed, I desired you to save your country by ruining the Volscians, I confess the case would be hard, and the choice difficult: for it would neither be honourable to destroy your countrymen, nor just to betray those who have placed their confidence in you. But what do we desire of you, more than deliverance from our own calamities? A deliverance which will be equally salutary to both parties,\* but most to the honour of the Volscians, since it will appear that their superiority empowered them to grant us the greatest of blessings, peace and friendship, while they themselves receive the same. If these take place, you will be acknowledged to

\* She begged a truce for a year, that in that time measures might be taken for settling a solid and lasting peace.



be the principal cause of them ; if they do not, you alone must expect to bear the blame from both nations. And though the chance of war is uncertain, yet it will be the certain event of this, that if you conquer, you will be a destroying demon to your country ; if you are beaten, it will be clear that by indulging your resentment, you have plunged your friends and benefactors in the greatest of misfortunes."

Coriolanus listened to his mother while she went on with her speech, without saying the least word to her ; and Volumnia, seeing him stand a long time mute after she had left speaking, proceeded again in this manner : "Why are you silent, my son ? Is it an honour to yield every thing to anger and resentment, and would it be a disgrace to yield to your mother in so important a petition ? Or does it become a great man to remember the injuries done him, and would it not equally become a great and good man with the highest regard and reverence to keep in mind the benefits he has received from his parents ? Surely you, of all men, should take care to be grateful, who have suffered so extremely by ingratitude. And yet, though you have already severely punished your country, you have not made your mother the least return for her kindness. The most sacred ties both of nature and religion, without any other constraint, require that you should indulge me in this just and reasonable request ; but if words cannot prevail, this only resource is left." When she had said this, she threw herself at his feet, together with his wife and children ; upon which Coriolanus crying out, "O mother ! what is it you have done ?" raised her from the ground, and tenderly pressing her hand, continued, "You have gained a victory fortunate for your country, but ruinous to me.\* I go, vanquished by you alone."

\* He well foresaw, that the Volscians would never forgive him the favour he did their enemies.



Then, after a short conference with his mother and wife in private, he sent them back to Rome, agreeably to their desire. Next morning he drew off the Volscians, who had not all the same sentiments of what had passed. Some blamed him; others, whose inclinations were for peace, found no fault; others again, though they disliked what was done, did not look upon Coriolanus as a bad man, but thought he was excusable in yielding to such powerful solicitations. However, none presumed to contradict his orders, though they followed him rather out of veneration for his virtue, than regard to his authority.

The sense of the dreadful and dangerous circumstances which the Roman people had been in by reason of the war, never appeared so strong as when they were delivered from it. For no sooner did they perceive from the walls, that the Volscians were drawing off, than all the temples were opened and filled with persons crowned with garlands, and offering sacrifice, as for some great victory. But in nothing was the public joy more evident than in the affectionate regard and honour which both the senate and people paid the women, whom they both considered and declared the means of their preservation. Nevertheless, when the senate decreed\* that whatever they thought would contribute most to their glory and satisfaction, the consuls should take care to see it done, they only desired that a temple might be built to the FORTUNE OF WOMEN, the expense of which they offered to defray themselves, requiring the commonwealth to be at no other charge than that of sacrifices, and such a solemn service as was suitable to the majesty of the gods. The senate, though they commended their generosity, ordered the temple and shrine to be erected at the public charge;† but the women contributed their money

\* It was decreed that an encomium of those matrons should be engraven on a public monument.

† It was erected in the Latin way, about four miles from Rome, on the place where Veturia had overcome the obstinacy of her son.



notwithstanding, and with it provided another image of the goddess, which the Romans report, when it was set up in the temple, to have uttered these words, O WOMEN! MOST ACCEPTABLE TO THE GODS IS THIS YOUR PIOUS GIFT.

They fabulously report that this voice was repeated twice, thus offering to our faith things that appear impossible. Indeed, we will not deny that images may have sweated, may have been covered with tears, and emitted drops like blood. For wood and stone often contract a scurf and mouldiness, that produces moisture; and they not only exhibit many different colours themselves, but receive variety of tinctures from the ambient air: at the same time there is no reason why the Deity may not make use of these signs to announce things to come. It is also very possible that a sound like that of a sigh or a groan may proceed from a statue, by the rupture or violent separation of some of the interior parts: but that an articulate voice and expression so clear, so full and perfect, should fall from a thing inanimate, is out of all the bounds of possibility. For neither the soul of man, nor even God himself, can utter vocal sounds, and pronounce words, without an organized body and parts fitted for utterance. Wherever then, history asserts such things, and bears us down with the testimony of many credible witnesses, we must conclude that some impression not unlike that of sense, influenced the imagination, and produced the belief of a real sensation; as in sleep we seem to hear what we hear not, and to see what we do not see. As for those persons, who are possessed with such a strong sense of religion, that they cannot reject any thing of this kind, they found their faith on the wonderful and incomprehensible power of

Valeria, who had proposed so successful a deputation, was the first priestess of this temple, which was much frequented by the Roman women.



God. For there is no manner of resemblance between him and a human being, either in his nature, his wisdom, his power, or his operations. If, therefore, he performs something which we cannot effect, and executes what with us is impossible, there is nothing in this contradictory to reason; since, though he far excels us in every thing, yet the dissimilitude and distance between him and us appears most of all in the works which he hath wrought. But *much knowledge of things divine*, as Heraclitus affirms, *escapes us through want of faith*.

When Coriolanus returned, after this expedition, to Antium, Tullus, who both hated and feared him, resolved to assassinate him immediately; being persuaded, that if he missed this, he should not have such another opportunity. First, therefore, he collected and prepared a number of accomplices, and then called upon Coriolanus to divest himself of his authority, and give an account of his conduct to the Volscians. Dreading the consequence of being reduced to a private station, while Tullus, who had so great an interest with his countrymen, was in power, he made answer, that if the Volscians required it, he would give up his commission, and not otherwise, since he had taken it at their common request; but that he was ready to give an account of his behaviour even then, if the citizens of Antium would have it so. Hereupon, they met in full assembly, and some of the orators that were prepared for it, endeavoured to exasperate the populace against him. But when Coriolanus stood up, the violence of the tumult abated, and he had liberty to speak; the best part of the people of Antium, and those that were most inclined to peace, appearing ready to hear him with candour, and to pass sentence with equity. Tullus was then afraid that he would make but too good a defence: for he was an eloquent man, and the former advantages which he had procured the nation outweighed his present offence. Nay, the very im-



peachment was a clear proof of the greatness of the benefits he had conferred upon them. For they would never have thought themselves injured in not conquering Rome, if they had not been near taking it through his means. The conspirators, therefore, judged it prudent not to wait any longer, or to try the multitude; and the boldest of their faction, crying out that a traitor ought not to be heard, or suffered by the Volscians to act the tyrant, and refuse to lay down his authority, rushed upon him in a body, and\* killed him on the spot; not one that was present lifting a hand to defend him. It was soon evident that this was not done with the general approbation; for they assembled from several cities, to give his body an honourable burial,† and adorned his monument with arms and spoils, as became a distinguished warrior and general.

When the Romans were informed of his death, they showed no sign either of favour or resentment. Only they permitted the women, at their request, to

\* Dionysius of Halicarnassus says, they stoned him to death:

† They dressed him in his general's robes, and laid his corpse on a magnificent bier, which was carried by such young officers as were most distinguished for their martial exploits. Before him were borne the spoils he had taken from the enemy, the crowns he had gained, and plans of the cities he had taken. In this order his body was laid on the pile, while several victims were slain in honour to his memory. When the pile was consumed, they gathered up his ashes, which they interred on the spot, and erected a magnificent monument there. Coriolanus was slain in the second year of the seventy-third Olympiad, in the two hundred and sixty-sixth year of Rome, and eight years after his first campaign. According to this account he died in the flower of his age; but Livy informs us, from Fabius, a very ancient author, that he lived till he was very old: and that in the decline of life he was wont to say, that "A state of exile was always uncomfortable, but more so to an old man than to another." We cannot, however, think that Coriolanus grew old among the Volscians. Had he done so, his counsels would have preserved them from ruin; and, after Tullus was slain, he would have restored their affairs, and have got them admitted to the rights and privileges of Roman citizens, in the same manner as the Latins.



go into mourning for ten months, as they used to do for a father, a son, or a brother; this being the longest term for mourning allowed by Numa Pompilius, as we have mentioned in his Life.

The Volscian affairs soon wanted the abilities of Marcius. For, first of all, in a dispute which they had with the *Æqui*, their friends and allies, which of the two nations should give a general to their armies, they proceeded to blows, and a number were killed and wounded; and afterwards coming to a battle with the Romans, in which they were defeated, and Tullus, together with the flower of their army, slain, they were forced to accept of very disgraceful conditions of peace, by which they were reduced to the obedience of Rome, and obliged to accept of such terms as the conquerors would allow them.

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### ALCIBIADES AND CORIOLANUS COMPARED.

HAVING now given a detail of all the actions of these two great men that we thought worthy to be known and remembered, we may perceive at one glance that as to their military exploits the balance is nearly even. For both gave extraordinary proofs of courage as soldiers, and of prudence and capacity as commanders in chief: though perhaps some may think Alcibiades the more complete general, on account of his many successful expeditions at sea as well as land. But this is common to both, that when they had the command, and fought in person, the affairs of their country infallibly prospered, and as infallibly declined, when they went over to the enemy.



As to their behaviour in point of government, if the licentiousness of Alcibiades, and his compliances with the humour of the populace, were abhorred by the wise and sober part of the Athenians; the proud and forbidding manner of Coriolanus, and his excessive attachment to the patricians, were equally detested by the Roman people. In this respect, therefore, neither of them is to be commended; though he that avails himself of popular arts, and shows too much indulgence, is less blameable than he who, to avoid the imputation of obsequiousness, treats the people with severity. It is, indeed, a disgrace to attain to power by flattering them; but on the other hand, to pursue it by acts of insolence and oppression, is not only shameful, but unjust.

That Coriolanus had an openness and simplicity of manners is a point beyond dispute, whilst Alcibiades was crafty and dark in the proceedings of his administration. The latter has been most blamed for the trick which he put upon the Lacedæmonian ambassadors, as Thucydides tells us, and by which he renewed the war. Yet this stroke of policy, though it plunged Athens again in war, rendered the alliance with the Mantineans and Argives, which was brought about by Alcibiades, much stronger and more respectable. But was not Coriolanus chargeable with a falsity too, when, as Dionysius informs us, he stirred up the Romans against the Volscians, by loading the latter with an infamous calumny, when they went to see the public games? The cause, too, makes this action the more criminal: for it was not by ambition or a rival spirit in politics that he was influenced, as Alcibiades was; but he did it to gratify his anger, *a passion which*, as Dion says, *is ever ungrateful to its votaries*. By this means they disturbed all Italy, and in his quarrel with his country destroyed many cities which had never done him any injury. Alcibiades, indeed, was the author of many evils to the Athenians, but was



easily reconciled to them, when he found that they repented. Nay, when he was driven a second time into exile, he could not bear with patience the blunders committed by the new generals, nor see with indifference the dangers to which they were exposed ; but observed the same conduct which Aristides is so highly extolled for with respect to Themistocles. He went in person to those generals, who, he knew, were not his friends, and showed them what steps it was proper for them to take. Whereas Coriolanus directed his revenge against the whole commonwealth, though he had not been injured by the whole, but the best and most respectable part both suffered and sympathized with him. And afterwards, when the Romans endeavoured to make satisfaction for that single grievance by many embassies and much submission, he was not in the least pacified or won ; but showed himself determined to prosecute a cruel war, not in order to procure his return to his native country, but to conquer and to ruin it. It may, indeed, be granted, that there was this difference in the case: Alcibiades returned to the Athenians, when the Spartans, who both feared and hated him, intended to despatch him privately. But it was not so honourable in Coriolanus to desert the Volscians, who had treated him with the utmost kindness, appointed him general with full authority, and reposed in him the highest confidence : very different in this respect from Alcibiades, who was abused, to their own purposes, rather than employed and trusted by the Lacedæmonians ; and who, after having been tossed about in their city and their camp, was at last obliged to put himself in the hands of Tissaphernes. But, perhaps, he made his court to the Persian\* in

\* For he prevented Tissaphernes from assisting the Spartans with all his forces. Thus he served the Athenians and the Persians at the same time. For it was undoubtedly the interest of the Persians to preserve the two leading powers of Greece in a condition to annoy each other ; and, in the mean time, to reap the advantage themselves.



order to prevent the utter ruin of his country, to which he was desirous to return.

History informs us, that Alcibiades often took bribes, which he lavished again with equal discredit upon his vicious pleasures; while Coriolanus refused to receive even what the generals he served under would have given him with honour. Hence the behaviour of the latter was the more detested by the people in the disputes about debts; since it was not with a view to advantage, but out of contempt and by way of insult, as they thought, that he bore so hard upon them.

Antipater, in one of his epistles, where he speaks of the death of Aristotle the philosopher, tells us, "That great man, besides his other extraordinary talents, had the art of insinuating himself into the affections of those he conversed with." For want of this talent, the great actions and virtues of Coriolanus were odious even to those who received the benefit of them, and who, notwithstanding, could not endure *that austerity which*, as Plato says, *is the companion of solitude*. But as Alcibiades, on the other hand, knew how to treat those with whom he conversed with an engaging civility, it is no wonder if the glory of his exploits flourished in the favour and honourable regard of mankind, since his very faults had sometimes their grace and elegance. Hence it was, that though his conduct was often very prejudicial to Athens, yet he was frequently appointed commander in chief; while Coriolanus, after many great achievements, with the best pretensions, sued for the consulship, and lost it. The former deserved to be hated by his countrymen, and was not; the latter was not beloved, though at the same time he was admired.

We should, moreover, consider, that Coriolanus performed no considerable services, while he commanded the armies of his country, though for the enemy against his country he did; but that Alci-



biades, both as a soldier and a general, did great things for the Athenians. When amongst his fellow-citizens, Alcibiades was superior to all the attempts of his enemies, though their calumnies prevailed against him in his absence; whereas Coriolanus was condemned by the Romans, though present to defend himself; and at length killed by the Volscians, against all rights, indeed, whether human or divine: nevertheless, he afforded them a colour for what they did, by granting that peace to the entreaties of the women, which he had refused to the application of the ambassadors; by that means leaving the enmity between the two nations, and the grounds of the war entire, and losing a very favourable opportunity for the Volscians. For surely he would not have drawn off the forces without the consent of those that committed them to his conduct, if he had sufficiently regarded his duty to them.

But if, without considering the Volscians in the least, he consulted his resentment only in stirring up the war, and put a period to it again when that was satisfied, he should not have spared his country on his mother's account, but have spared her with it; for both his mother and wife made a part of his native city which he was besieging. But inhumanly to reject the application and entreaties of the ambassadors, and the petition of the priests, and then to consent to a retreat in favour of his mother, was not doing honour to his mother, but bringing disgrace upon his country; since, as if it was not worthy to be saved for its own sake, it appeared to be saved only in compassion to a woman. For the favour was invidious, and so far from being engaging, that, in fact, it savoured of cruelty, and consequently was unacceptable to both parties. He retired without being won by the supplications of those he was at war with, and without consent of those for whom he undertook it. The cause of all which was, the austerity of his manners, his arrogance and inflexibility



of mind, things hateful enough to the people at all times; but, when united with ambition, savage and intolerable. Persons of his temper, as if they had no need of honours, neglect to ingratiate themselves with the multitude, and yet are excessively chagrined when those are denied them. It is true, neither Metellus, nor Aristides, nor Epaminondas, were pliant to the people's humour, or could submit to flatter them; but then they had a thorough contempt of every thing that the people could either give or take away; and when they were banished, or, on any other occasion, miscarried in the suffrages, or were condemned in large fines, they nourished no anger against their ungrateful countrymen, but were satisfied with their repentance, and reconciled to them at their request. And, surely, he who is sparing in his assiduities to the people, can but with an ill grace think of revenging any slight he may suffer: for extreme resentment, in case of disappointment in a pursuit of honour, must be the effect of an extreme desire of it.

Alcibiades, for his part, readily acknowledged, that he was charmed with honours, and that he was very uneasy at being neglected; and therefore he endeavoured to recommend himself to those he had to do with, by every engaging art. But the pride of Coriolanus would not permit him to make his court to those who were capable of conferring honours upon him; and at the same time his ambition filled him with regret and indignation when they passed him by. This, then, is the blameable part of his character; all the rest is great and glorious. In point of temperance and disregard of riches, he is fit to be compared with the most illustrious examples of integrity in Greece, and not with Alcibiades, who, in this respect, was the most profligate of men, and had the least regard for decency and honour.



## TIMOLEON.

THE affairs of the Syracusans, before Timoleon was sent into Sicily, were in this posture: Dion, having driven out Dionysius the tyrant, was soon assassinated; those that with him had been the means of delivering Syracuse, were divided among themselves; and the city, which only changed one tyrant for another, was oppressed with so many miseries, that it was almost desolate.\* As for the rest of Sicily, the wars had made part of it quite a desert, and most of the towns that remained were held by a confused mixture of barbarians and soldiers, who, having no regular pay, were ready for every change of government.

Such being the state of things, Dionysius, in the tenth year after his expulsion, having got together a body of foreigners, drove out Nysæus, then master of Syracuse, restored his own affairs, and re-established himself in his dominions. Thus he who had been unaccountably stripped by a small body of men of the greatest power that any tyrant ever possessed, still more unaccountably, of a beggarly fugitive, became the master of those who had expelled him. All, therefore, who remained in Syracuse, became slaves to a tyrant, who at the best was of an

\* Upon Dion's death, his murderer Callippus usurped the supreme power; but after ten months he was driven out, and slain with the same dagger which he had planted in the breast of his friend. Hipparinus, the brother of Dionysius, arriving with a numerous fleet, possessed himself of the city of Syracuse, and held it for the space of two years. Syracuse and all Sicily being thus divided into parties and factions, Dionysius the younger, who had been driven from the throne, taking advantage of these troubles, assembled some foreign troops; and having defeated Nysæus, who was then governor of Syracuse, reinstated himself in his dominions.



ungentle nature, and at that time exasperated by his misfortunes to a degree of savage ferocity. But the best and most considerable of the citizens having retired to Icetes, prince of the Leontines, put themselves under his protection, and chose him for their general. Not that he was better than the most avowed tyrants; but they had no other resource: and they were willing to repose some confidence in him, as being of a Syracusan family, and having an army able to encounter that of Dionysius.

In the mean time, the Carthaginians appearing before Sicily with a great fleet, and being likely to avail themselves of the disordered state of the island, the Sicilians, struck with terror, determined to send an embassy into Greece, to beg assistance of the Corinthians; not only on account of their kindred to that people,\* and the many services they had received from them on former occasions, but because they knew that Corinth was always a patroness of liberty and an enemy to tyrants, and that she had engaged in many considerable wars, not from a motive of ambition or avarice, but to maintain the freedom and independency of Greece. Hereupon Icetes, whose intention in accepting the command was not so much to deliver Syracuse from its tyrants, as to set up himself there in the same capacity, treated privately with the Carthaginians, while in public he commended the design of the Syracusans, and dispatched ambassadors along with theirs into Peloponnesus. Not that he was desirous of succours from thence, but he hoped that if the Corinthians, on account of the troubles of Greece and their engagements at home, should, as it was likely enough, de-

\* The Syracusans were a colony from Corinth, founded by Archias the Corinthian, in the second year of the eleventh Olympiad, seven hundred and thirty-three years before the Christian æra. Sicily had been planted with Phœnicians and other barbarous people, as the Grecians called them, above three hundred years before.



cline sending any, he might the more easily incline the balance to the side of the Carthaginians, and then make use of their alliance and their forces, either against the Syracusans or their present tyrant. That such were his views, a little time discovered.

When the ambassadors arrived, and their business was known, the Corinthians, always accustomed to give particular attention to the concerns of the colonies, and especially those of Syracuse, since by good fortune they had nothing to molest them in their own country, readily passed a vote that the succours should be granted. The next thing to be considered, was, who should be general; when the magistrates put in nomination such as had endeavoured to distinguish themselves in the state; but one of the plebeians stood up and proposed Timoleon, the son of Timodemus, who as yet had no share in the business of the commonwealth, and was so far from hoping or wishing for such an appointment, that it seemed some god inspired him with the thought: with such indulgence did fortune immediately promote his election, and so much did her favour afterwards signalize his actions, and add lustre to his valour!

His parentage was noble on both sides; for both his father Timodemus, and his mother Demariste, were of the best families in Corinth. His love of his country was remarkable, and so was the mildness of his disposition, saving that he bore an extreme hatred to tyrants and wicked men. His natural abilities for war were so happily tempered, that as an extraordinary prudence was seen in the enterprises of his younger years, so an undaunted courage distinguished his declining age. He had an elder brother, named Timophanes, who resembled him in nothing; being rash and indiscreet of himself, and utterly corrupted besides, by the passion for sovereignty, infused into him by some of his profligate acquaintance, and certain foreign soldiers whom he



had always about him. He appeared to be impetuous in war, and to court danger, which gave his countrymen such an opinion of his courage and activity, that they frequently entrusted him with the command of the army. And in these matters Timoleon much assisted him, by entirely concealing, or at least extenuating his faults, and magnifying the good qualities which nature had given him.

In a battle between the Corinthians and the troops of Argos and Cleone, Timoleon happened to serve among the infantry, when Timophanes, who was at the head of the cavalry, was brought into extreme danger: for his horse being wounded, threw him amidst the enemy. Hereupon, part of his companions were frightened, and presently dispersed; and the few that remained, having to fight with numbers, with difficulty stood their ground. Timoleon, seeing his brother in these circumstances, ran to his assistance, and covered him as he lay with his shield; and after having received abundance of darts, and many strokes of the sword upon his body and his armour, by great efforts repulsed the enemy, and saved him.

Some time after this, the Corinthians, apprehensive that their city might be surprised through some treachery of their allies, as it had been before resolved to keep on foot four hundred mercenaries, gave the command of them to Timophanes. But he, having no regard to justice or honour, soon entered into measures to subject the city to himself, and having put to death a number of the principal inhabitants without form of trial, declared himself absolute prince of it. Timoleon, greatly concerned at this, and accounting the treacherous proceedings of his brother his own misfortune, went to expostulate with him, and endeavoured to persuade him to renounce this madness and unfortunate ambition, and to bethink himself how to make his fellow-citizens some amends for the crimes he had committed. But as he rejected his single admonition with disdain, he



returned a few days after, taking with him a kinsman, named *Æschylas*, brother to the wife of *Timophanes*, and a certain soothsayer, a friend of his, whom *Theopompus* calls *Satyrus*, but *Ephorus* and *Timæus* mention by the name of *Orthogras*. These three, standing round him, earnestly entreated him yet to listen to reason and change his mind. *Timophanes* at first laughed at them, and afterwards gave way to a violent passion: upon which, *Timoleon* stepped aside, and stood weeping, with his face covered, while the other two drew their swords, and despatched him in a moment.\*

The matter being soon generally known, the principal and most valuable part of the *Corinthians* extolled *Timoleon's* detestation of wickedness, and that greatness of soul, which, notwithstanding the gentleness of his heart and his affection to his relations, led him to prefer his country to his family, and justice and honour to interest and advantage. While his brother fought valiantly for his country, he had saved him; and slain him, when he had treacherously enslaved it. Those who knew not how to live in a democracy, and had been used to make their court to men in power, pretended indeed to rejoice at the tyrant's death; but at the same time reviling *Timoleon*, as guilty of an horrible and impious deed, they created him great uneasiness. When he heard how heavily his mother bore it, and that she uttered the most dreadful wishes and imprecations against him, he went to excuse it and to console her: but she could not endure the thought of seeing him, and or-

\* *Diodorus*, in the circumstances of this fact, differs from *Plutarch*. He tells us, that *Timoleon* having killed his brother in the market-place with his own hand, a great tumult arose among the citizens. To appease this tumult, an assembly was convened; and in the height of their debates the *Syracusan* ambassadors arrived, demanding a general; whereupon they unanimously agreed to send *Timoleon*; but first let him know, that if he discharged his duty there well, he should be considered as one who had killed a tyrant; if not, as the murderer of his brother. *DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi. c. 10.*



dered the doors to be shut against him. He then became entirely a prey to sorrow, and attempted to put an end to his life by abstaining from all manner of food. In these unhappy circumstances his friends did not abandon him. They even added force to their entreaties till they prevailed on him to live. He determined, however, to live in solitude: and accordingly he withdrew from all public affairs, and for some years did not so much as approach the city, but wandered about the most gloomy parts of his grounds, and gave himself up to melancholy. Thus the judgment, if it borrows not from reason and philosophy sufficient strength and steadiness for action, is easily unsettled and depraved by any casual commendation or dispraise, and departs from its own purposes. For an action should not only be just and laudable in itself, but the principle from which it proceeds firm and immoveable, in order that our conduct may have the sanction of our own approbation. Otherwise, upon the completion of any undertaking, we shall, through our own weakness, be filled with sorrow and remorse, and the splendid ideas of honour and virtue, that led us to perform it, will vanish; just as the glutton is soon cloyed and disgusted with the luscious viands which he had devoured with too keen an appetite. Repentance tarnishes the best actions; whereas the purposes that are grounded upon knowledge and reason never change, though they may happen to be disappointed of success. Hence it was that Phocion of Athens, having vigorously opposed the proceedings of Leosthenes,\* which, notwithstanding, turned out much more happily than he expected; when he saw the Athenians offering sacrifice and elated with their victory, told them, *he was glad of their success, but if it was to do over again, he should give the same counsel.* Still stronger was the answer which Aris-

\* See the Life of Phocion.



tides the Locrian, one of Plato's intimate friends, gave to Dionysius the elder, when he demanded one of his daughters in marriage, *I had rather see the virgin in her grave than in the palace of a tyrant.* And when Dionysius soon after put his son to death, and then insolently asked him, *What he now thought as to the disposal of his daughter?*—*I am sorry,* said he, *for what you have done, but I am not sorry for what I said.* However, it is only a superior and highly accomplished virtue that can attain such heights as these.

As for Timoleon's extreme dejection in consequence of the late fact, whether it proceeded from regret of his brother's fate, or the reverence he bore his mother, it so shattered and impaired his spirits, that for almost twenty years he was concerned in no important or public affair.

When, therefore, he was pitched upon for general, and accepted as such by the suffrages of the people, Teleclides, a man of the greatest power and reputation in Corinth, exhorted him to behave well, and to exert a generous valour in the execution of his commission: *For,* said he, *if your conduct be good, we shall consider you as the destroyer of a tyrant; if bad, as the murderer of your brother.*

While Timoleon was assembling his forces, and preparing to set sail, the Corinthians received letters from Ictes, which plainly discovered his revolt and treachery. For his ambassadors were no sooner set out for Corinth, than he openly joined the Carthaginians, and acted in concert with them, in order to expel Dionysius from Syracuse, and usurp the tyranny himself. Fearing, moreover, lest he should lose his opportunity, by the speedy arrival of the army from Corinth, he wrote to the Corinthians to acquaint them, "That there was no occasion for them to put themselves to trouble and expense, or to expose themselves to the dangers of a voyage to Sicily; particularly as the Carthaginians would op-



pose them, and were watching for their ships with a numerous fleet; and that indeed, on account of the slowness of their motions, he had been forced to engage those very Carthaginians to assist him against the tyrant."

If any of the Corinthians before were cold and indifferent as to the expedition, upon the reading of these letters they were one and all so incensed against Icetes, that they readily supplied Timoleon with whatever he wanted, and united their endeavours to expedite his sailing.

When the fleet was equipped, and the soldiers provided with all that was necessary, the priestesses of Proserpine had a dream, wherein that goddess and her mother Ceres appeared to them in a travelling garb, and told them, "That they intended to accompany Timoleon into Sicily." Hereupon the Corinthians equipped a sacred galley, which they called the *galley of the goddesses*. Timoleon himself went to Delphi, where he offered sacrifice to Apollo; and, upon his descending into the place where the oracles were delivered, was surprised with this wonderful occurrence: A wreath, embroidered with crowns and images of victory, slipped down from among the offerings that were hung up there, and fell upon Timoleon's head, so that Apollo seemed to send him out crowned upon that enterprise.

He had seven ships of Corinth, two of Corcyra, and a tenth fitted out by the Leucadians, with which he put to sea. It was in the night that he set sail, and with a prosperous gale he was making his way, when on a sudden the heavens seemed to be rent asunder, and to pour upon his ship a bright and spreading flame, which soon formed itself into a torch, such as is used in the sacred mysteries; and having conducted them through their whole course, brought them to that quarter of Italy for which they designed to steer. The soothsayers declared that this appearance perfectly agreed with the dream of



the priestesses, and that by this light from heaven, the goddesses showed themselves interested in the success of the expedition. Particularly as Sicily was sacred to Proserpine ; it being fabled that her rape happened there, and that the island was bestowed on her as a nuptial gift.

The fleet, thus encouraged with tokens of the divine favour, very soon crossed the sea, and made the coast of Italy. But the news brought thither from Sicily much perplexed Timoleon, and disheartened his forces. For Icetes having beaten Dionysius in a set battle,\* and taken great part of Syracuse, had, by a line of circumvallation, shut up the tyrant in the citadel and that part of the city which is called *the island*, and besieged him there. At the same time he ordered the Carthaginians to take care that Timoleon should not land in Sicily ; hoping, when the Corinthians were driven off, without farther opposition, to share the island with his new allies. The Carthaginians, accordingly, sent away twenty of their galleys to Rhegium, in which were ambassadors from Icetes to Timoleon, charged with proposals quite as captious as his proceedings themselves : for they were nothing but specious and artful words, invented to give a colour to his treacherous designs. They were to make an offer, “ That Timoleon might, if he thought proper, go and assist Icetes with his counsel, and share in his successes ; but that he must send back his ships and troops to Corinth, since the war was almost finished, and the Carthaginians were determined to prevent their passage, and ready to repel force with force.”

\* Icetes, finding himself in want of provisions, withdrew from the siege of Syracuse towards his own country ; whereupon Dionysius marched out and attacked his rear. But Icetes facing about, defeated him, killed three thousand of his men, and pursuing him into the city, got possession of part of it. Our author observes a little below, that Syracuse being divided by strong walls, was as it were an assemblage of cities.



The Corinthians, then, as soon as they arrived at Rhegium, meeting with this embassy, and seeing the Carthaginians riding at anchor near them, were vexed at the insult: a general indignation was expressed against Icetes, and fear for the Sicilians, whom they plainly saw left as a prize, to reward Icetes for his treachery, and the Carthaginians for assisting in setting him up tyrant. And it seemed impossible for them to get the better, either of the barbarians, who were watching them with double the number of ships, or of the forces of Icetes, which they had expected would have joined them, and put themselves under their command.

Timoleon, on this occasion, coming to an interview with the ambassadors and the Carthaginian commanders, mildly said, "He would submit to their proposals," for what could he gain by opposing them? "but he was desirous that they would give them in publicly before the people of Rhegium, ere he quitted that place, since it was a Grecian city, and common friend to both parties. For that this tended to his security, and they themselves would stand more firmly to their engagements, if they took that people for witnesses to them."

This overture he made only to amuse them, intending all the while to steal a passage, and the magistrates of Rhegium entered heartily into his scheme; for they wished to see the affairs of Sicily in Corinthian hands, and dreaded the neighbourhood of the barbarians. They summoned, therefore, an assembly, and shut the gates, lest the citizens should go about any other business. Being convened, they made long speeches, one of them taking up the argument where another laid it down, with no other view than to gain time for the Corinthian galleys to get under sail; and the Carthaginians were easily detained in the assembly, as having no suspicion, because Timoleon was present, and it was expected every moment that he would stand up and make his



speech. But upon secret notice that the other galleys had put to sea,\* and his alone was left behind, by the help of the Rhegians who pressed close to the *rostrum*, and concealed him amongst them, he slipped through the crowd, got down to the shore, and hoisted sail with all speed.

He soon arrived, with all his vessels, at Tauromenium in Sicily, to which he had been invited some time before, and where he was now kindly received, by Andromachus, lord of that city. This Andromachus was father to Timæus the historian; and being much the best of all the Sicilian princes of his time, he both governed his own people agreeably to the laws and principles of justice, and had ever avowed his aversion and enmity to tyrants. On this account he readily allowed Timoleon to make his city a place of arms, and persuaded his people to co-operate with the Corinthians with all their force, in restoring liberty to the whole island.

The Carthaginians at Rhegium, upon the breaking up of the assembly, seeing that Timoleon was gone, were vexed to find themselves outwitted; and it afforded no small diversion to the Rhegians, *that Phœnicians should complain of any thing effected by guile.*

They despatched, however, one of their galleys with an ambassador to Tauromenium, who represented the affair at large to Andromachus, insisting with much insolence and barbaric pride, that he should immediately turn the Corinthians out of his town; and at last showing him his hand with the palm upwards, and then turning it down again, told him if he did not comply with that condition, the Carthaginians *would overturn his city just as he had turned his hand.* Andromachus only smiled, and without making him any other answer, stretched out

\* The Carthaginians believed that the departure of those nine galleys for Corinth had been agreed on between the officers of both parties, and that the tenth was left behind to carry Timoleon to Icetes.



his hand, first with one side up, and then the other, and bade him *begone directly, if he did not choose to have his ship turned upside down in the same manner.*

Iceles hearing that Timoleon had made good his passage, was much alarmed, and sent for a great number of the Carthaginian galleys. The Syracusans then began to despair of a deliverance; for they saw the Carthaginians masters of their harbour,\* Iceles possessed of the city, and the citadel in the hands of Dionysius; while Timoleon held only by a small border of the skirts of Sicily, the little town of Tauromenium, with a feeble hope and an inconsiderable force, having no more than a thousand men, and provisions barely sufficient for them. Nor had the Sicilian states any confidence in him, plunged as they were in misfortunes, and exasperated against all that pretended to lead armies to their succour, particularly on account of the perfidy of Callippus and Pharax. The one was an Athenian, and the other a Lacedæmonian, and both came with professions to do great things for the liberty of Sicily, and for demolishing the tyrants; yet the Sicilians soon found that the reign of former oppressors was comparatively a golden age, and reckoned those far more happy who died in servitude than such as lived to see so dismal a kind of freedom. Expecting, therefore, that this Corinthian deliverer would be no better than those before him, and that the deceitful hand of art would reach out to them the same bait of good hopes and fair promises, to draw them into subjection to a new master, they all, except the people of Adranum, suspected the designs of the Corinthians, and declined their proposals. Adranum was a small city, consecrated to the god *Adranus*,† who was held in high veneration throughout all Si-

\* The Carthaginians had a hundred and fifty men of war, fifty thousand foot, and three hundred chariots.

† This deity, by his *insignia* afterwards mentioned, should seem to be Mars. His temple was guarded by a hundred dogs.



cily. Its inhabitants were at variance with each other; some calling in Icetes and the Carthaginians, and others applying to Timoleon. Both generals striving which should get there first, as fortune would have it, arrived about the same time. But Icetes had five thousand men with him, and Timoleon twelve hundred at the most, whom he drew out of Tauromenium, which was forty-two miles and a half from Adranum. The first day he made but a short march, and pitched his tents in good time. The next day he marched forward at a great pace, though the road was very rugged; and towards evening was informed that Icetes had just reached the town, and was encamping before it. At the same time his officers made the foremost division halt, to take some refreshment, that they might be the more vigorous in the ensuing engagement. This, however, was against the opinion of Timoleon, who entreated them to march forward as fast as possible, and to attack the enemy before they were put in order; it being probable, now they were just come off their march, that they were employed in pitching their tents and preparing their supper. He had no sooner given this order, than he took his buckler and put himself at the head of them, as leading them on to undoubted victory.

His men, thus encouraged, followed him very cheerfully, being now not quite thirty furlongs from Adranum. As soon as they came up, they fell upon the enemy, who were in great confusion, and ready to fly at their first approach. For this reason not many more than three hundred were killed, but twice as many were made prisoners, and the camp was taken.

Upon this the people of Adranum opened their gates to Timoleon, and joined his party, declaring with terror and astonishment, that during the battle, the sacred doors of the temple opened of their own accord, the spear of their god was seen to shake to



the very point, and his face dropped with sweat. These things did not foreshow that victory only, but the future successes to which this dispute was a fortunate prelude. For several cities, by their ambassadors, immediately joined in alliance with Timoleon; and Mamercus, sovereign of Catana, a warlike and wealthy prince, entered into the confederacy. But what was still more material, Dionysius himself, having bid adieu to hope, and unable to hold out much longer, despising Icetes, who was so shamefully beaten, and admiring the bravery of Timoleon, offered to deliver up to him and the Corinthians both himself and the citadel.

Timoleon accepted of this good fortune so superior to his hopes, and sent Euclides and Telemachus, two Corinthian officers, into the citadel, as he did four hundred men besides, not all together, nor openly, for that was impossible, because the enemy were upon their guard, but by stealth, and a few at a time. This corps then took possession of the citadel and the tyrant's moveables, with all that he had provided for carrying on the war, namely, a good number of horses, all manner of engines, and a vast quantity of darts. They found also arms for seventy thousand men which had been laid up of old, and two thousand soldiers with Dionysius, whom he delivered up along with the store to Timoleon. But the tyrant reserved his money to himself, and having got on board a ship, he sailed with a few of his friends, without being perceived by Icetes, and reached the camp of Timoleon.

Then it was that he first appeared in the humble figure of a private man,\* and, as such, he was sent with one ship and a very moderate sum of money, to Corinth; he that was born in a splendid court, and educated as heir to the most absolute monarchy that

\* Dionysius was born to absolute power, whereas most other tyrants, Dionysius the elder, for instance, had raised themselves to it, and some from a mean condition.



ever existed. He held it for ten years;\* and for twelve more, from the time that Dion took up arms against him, he was exercised continually in wars and troubles: insomuch that the mischiefs caused by his tyranny were abundantly recompensed upon his own head in what he suffered. He saw his sons die in their youth, his daughters deflowered, and his sister, who was also his wife, exposed to the brutal lusts of his enemies, and then slaughtered with her children, and thrown into the sea: as we have related more particularly in the Life of Dion.

When Dionysius arrived at Corinth, there was hardly a man in Greece who was not desirous to see him and discourse with him. Some hating the man, and rejoicing at his misfortunes, came for the pleasure of insulting him in his present distress; others, whose sentiments, with respect to him, were somewhat changed, and who were touched with compassion for his fate, plainly saw the influence of an invisible and divine power, displayed in the affairs of feeble mortals. For neither nature nor art produced in those times any thing so remarkable as that work of fortune,† which showed the man who was lately sovereign of Sicily, now holding conversation in a butcher's shop at Corinth, or sitting whole days in a perfumer's; or drinking the diluted wine of taverns; or squabbling in the streets with lewd women; or directing female musicians in their singing, and disputing with them seriously about the harmony of certain airs that were sung in the theatre.‡

\* For he began his reign in the first year of the hundred and third Olympiad, three hundred and sixty years before the Christian æra. Dion took arms against him in the fourth year of the hundred and fifth Olympiad; and he delivered up the citadel to Timoleon, and was sent to Corinth, in the first year of the hundred and ninth.

† Plutarch adds *nor art*, to give us to understand that the tragic poets had not represented so signal a catastrophe, even in fable.

‡ Some writers tell us, that the extreme poverty to which he was reduced, obliged him to open a school at Corinth, where he exercised that tyranny over children which he could no longer practise over men.



Some were of opinion, that he fell into these unworthy amusements, as being naturally idle, effeminate, and dissolute: but others thought it was a stroke of policy, and that he rendered himself despicable to prevent his being feared by the Corinthians; contrary to his nature, affecting that meanness and stupidity, lest they should imagine the change of his circumstances sat heavy upon him, and that he aimed at establishing himself again.

Nevertheless, some sayings of his are recorded, by which it should seem that he did not bear his present misfortunes in an abject manner. When he arrived at Leucas, which was a Corinthian colony as well as Syracuse, he said, "He found himself in a situation like that of young men who had been guilty of some misdemeanor. For as they converse cheerfully, notwithstanding, with their brothers, but are abashed at the thought of coming before their fathers, so he was ashamed of going to live in the mother city, and could pass his days much more to his satisfaction with them." Another time, when a certain stranger derided him, at Corinth, in a very rude and scornful manner, for having, in the meridian of his power, taken pleasure in the discourse of philosophers, and at last asked him, "What he had got by the wisdom of Plato?" "Do you think," said he, "that we have reaped no advantage from Plato, when we bear in this manner such a change of fortune?" Aristoxenus the musician, and some others, having inquired "What was the ground of his displeasure against Plato?" He answered, "That absolute power abounded with evils; but had this great infelicity above all the rest, that among the number of those who call themselves the friends of an arbitrary prince, there is not one who will speak his mind to him freely; and that by such false friends he had been deprived of the friendship of Plato."

Some one who had a mind to be arch, and to make merry with Dionysius, shook his robe when he entered his apartment, as is usual when persons approach a



tyrant; and he, returning the jest very well, bade him "Do the same when he went out, that he might not carry off some of the moveables."

One day, over their cups, Philip of Macedon, with a kind of sneer, introduced some discourse about the odes\* and tragedies which Dionysius the elder left behind him, and pretended to doubt how he could find leisure for such works. Dionysius answered smartly enough, "They were written in the time which you and I, and other happy fellows, spend over the bowl."

Plato did not see Dionysius in Corinth, for he had now been dead some time. But Diogenes of Sinope, when he first met him, addressed him as follows, "How little dost thou deserve to live!" Thus Dionysius answered, "It is kind in you to sympathize with me in my misfortunes." "Dost thou think, then," said Diogenes, "that I have any pity for thee, and that I am not rather vexed that such a slave as thou art, and so fit to grow old and die, like thy father, on a tyrant's uneasy throne, should, instead of that, live with us here in mirth and pleasure." So that when I compare, with these words of the philosopher, the doleful expressions of Philistus, in which he bewails the fate of the daughters of Leptines,†

\* Dionysius the elder valued himself upon his poetry, but has been censured as the worst poet in the world. Philoxenus, who was himself an excellent poet, attempted to undeceive him in the favourable opinion he had of his own abilities, but was sent to the Quarries for the liberty he took. However, the next day he was restored to favour, and Dionysius repeated to him some verses he had taken extraordinary pains with, expecting his approbation. But the poet, instead of giving it, looked round to the guards, and said to them, very humorously, "Take me back to the Quarries." Notwithstanding this, Dionysius disputed the prize of poetry at the Olympic games; but there he was hissed, and the rich pavilion he had sent torn in pieces. He had better success, however, at Athens; for he gained the prize of poetry at the celebrated feast of Bacchus. On this occasion he was in such raptures, that he drank to excess, and the debauch threw him into violent pains; to allay which, he asked for a soporative, and his physicians gave him one that laid him asleep, out of which he never awaked.

† Leptines, as mentioned below, was tyrant of Apollonia.



“That from the great and splendid enjoyments of absolute power, they were reduced to a private and humble station,” they appear to one the lamentations of a woman, who regrets her perfumes, her purple robes, and golden trinkets. This account of the sayings of Dionysius, seems to me neither foreign from biography, nor without its utility to such readers as are not in a hurry, or taken up with other concerns.

If the ill fortune of Dionysius appeared surprising, the success of Timoleon was no less wonderful. For within fifty days after his landing in Sicily, he was master of the citadel of Syracuse, and sent off Dionysius into Peloponnesus. The Corinthians, encouraged with these advantages, sent him a reinforcement of two thousand foot and two hundred horse. These got on their way as far as Thurium; but finding it impracticable to gain a passage from thence, because the sea was beset with a numerous fleet of Carthaginians, they were forced to stop there, and watch their opportunity. However, they employed their time in a very noble undertaking. For the Thurians marching out of their city to war against the Brutians, left it in charge with these Corinthian strangers, who defended it with as much honour and integrity as if it had been their own.

Meantime, Icetes carried on the siege of the citadel with great vigour, and blocked it up so close, that no provisions could be got in for the Corinthian garrison. He provided also two strangers to assassinate Timoleon, and sent them privately to Adranum. That general, who never kept any regular guards about him, lived then with the Adranites without any sort of precaution or suspicion, by reason of his confidence in their tutelary god. The assassins being informed that he was going to offer sacrifice, went into the temple with their poniards under their clothes, and mixing with those that stood round the altar, got nearer to him by little and little. They



were just going to give each other the signal to begin, when somebody struck one of them on the head with his sword, and laid him at his feet. Neither he that struck the blow kept his station, nor the companion of the dead man; the former, with his sword in his hand, fled to the top of a high rock, and the latter laid hold on the altar, entreating Timoleon to spare his life, on condition that he discovered the whole matter. Accordingly, pardon was promised him, and he confessed that he and the person who lay dead, were sent on purpose to kill him.

Whilst he was making this confession, the other man was brought down from the rock, and loudly protested that he was guilty of no injustice, for he only took righteous vengeance on the wretch who had murdered his father in the city of Leontium.\* And, for the truth of this, he appealed to several that were there present, who all attested the same, and could not but admire the wonderful management of fortune, which, moving one thing by another, bringing together the most distant incidents, and combining those that have no manner of relation, but rather the greatest dissimilarity, makes such use of them, that the close of one process is always the beginning of another. The Corinthians rewarded the man with a present of ten *minæ*, because his hand had co-operated with the guardian genius of Timoleon, and he had reserved the satisfaction for his private wrongs to the time when fortune availed herself of it to save the general. This happy escape had effects beyond the present, for it inspired the Corinthians with high expectations of Timoleon, when they saw the Sicilians now reverence and guard him, as a man whose person was sacred, and who was come as minister of the gods, to avenge and deliver them.

\* History can hardly afford a stronger instance of an interfering PROVIDENCE.



When Icetes had failed in this attempt, and saw many of the Sicilians going over to Timoleon, he blamed himself for making use of the Carthaginians in small numbers only, and availing himself of their assistance, as it were by stealth, and as if he were ashamed of it, when they had such immense forces at hand. He sent, therefore, for Mago, their commander in chief, and his whole fleet; who, with terrible pomp, took possession of the harbour with a hundred and fifty ships, and landed an army of sixty thousand men, which encamped in the city of Syracuse; insomuch that every one imagined the inundation of barbarians, which had been announced and expected of old, was now come upon Sicily. For in the many wars which they had waged in that island, the Carthaginians had never before been able to take Syracuse; but Icetes then receiving them, and delivering up the city to them, the whole became a camp of barbarians.

The Corinthians, who still held the citadel, found themselves in very dangerous and difficult circumstances; for besides that they were in want of provisions, because the port was guarded and blocked up, they were employed in sharp and continual disputes about the walls, which were attacked with all manner of machines and batteries, and for the defence of which they were obliged to divide themselves. Timoleon, however, found means to relieve them, by sending a supply of corn from Catana in small fishing boats and little skiffs, which watched the opportunity to make their way through the enemy's fleet, when it happened to be separated by a storm. Mago and Icetes no sooner saw this, than they resolved to make themselves masters of Catana, from which provisions were sent to the besieged; and taking with them the best of their troops, they sailed from Syracuse. Leo, the Corinthian, who commanded in the citadel, having observed, from the top of it, that those of the enemy who stayed be-



hind, abated the vigilance, and kept up an indifferent guard, suddenly fell upon them as they were dispersed; and killing some, and putting the rest to flight, gained the quarter called *Achradina*, which was much the strongest, and had suffered the least from the enemy; for Syracuse is an assemblage, as it were, of towns.\* Finding plenty of provisions and money there, he did not give up the acquisition, nor return into the citadel, but stood upon his defence in the *Achradina*, having fortified it quite round, and joined it by new works to the citadel. Mago and Icetes were now near Catana, when a horseman, despatched from Syracuse, brought them tidings that the *Achradina* was taken; which struck them with such surprise that they returned in great hurry, having neither taken the place which they went against, nor kept that which they had before.

Perhaps prudence and valour have as much right as fortune to lay claim to these successes; but the event that next ensued, is wholly to be ascribed to the favour of fortune. The corps of Corinthians that were at Thurium, dreading the Carthaginian fleet, which, under the command of Hanno, observed their motions, and finding at the same time that the sea for many days was stormy and tempestuous, determined to march through the country of the Brutians: and partly by persuasion, partly by force, they made good their passage through the territories of the barbarians, and came down to Rhegium, the sea still continuing rough as before.

The Carthaginian admiral, not expecting the Corinthians would venture out, thought it was in vain to sit still; and having persuaded himself that he had invented one of the finest stratagems in the

\* There were four: the *Isle*, or the citadel, which was between the two ports; *Achradina*, at a little distance from the citadel; *Tyche*, so called from the temple of Fortune; and *Neapolis*, or the new city. To these some eminent authors (and Plutarch is of the number) add a fifth, which they call *Epipolæ*.



world, ordered the mariners to crown themselves with garlands, and to dress up the galleys with Grecian and Phœnician bucklers, and thus equipped, he sailed to Syracuse. When he came near the citadel, he hailed it with loud huzzas and expressions of triumph, declaring that he was just come from beating the Corinthian succours, whom he had met with at sea, as they were endeavouring at a passage. By this means he hoped to strike terror into the besieged. While he was acting this part, the Corinthians got down to Rhegium, and as the coast was clear, and the wind, falling as it were miraculously, promised smooth water and a safe voyage, they immediately went aboard such barks and fishing boats as they could find, and passed over into Sicily with so much safety and in such a dead calm, that they even drew the horses by the reins, swimming by the side of the vessels.

When they were all landed and had joined Timoleon, he soon took Messana;\* and from thence he marched in good order to Syracuse, depending more upon his good fortune than his forces, for he had not above four thousand men with him. On the first news of his approach, Mago was greatly perplexed and alarmed, and his suspicions were increased on the following occasions. The marshes about Syracuse,† which receive a great deal of fresh water from the springs, and from the lakes and rivers that discharge themselves there into the sea, have such abundance of eels, that there is always plenty for those that choose to fish for them. The common soldiers of both sides amused themselves promiscuously with that sport, at their vacant hours, and upon any cessation of arms. As they were all Greeks, and had no pretence for any private animosity,

\* *Messana*, in the ancient Sicilian pronunciation; now *Messina*.

† There is one morass that is called *Lysimelia*, and another called *Syraco*. From this last the city took its name. These morasses make the air of Syracuse very unwholesome.



sity against each other, they fought boldly when they met in battle, and in time of truce they mixed together and conversed familiarly. Busied at one of these times in their common diversions of fishing, they fell into discourse, and expressed their admiration of the convenience of the sea and the situation of the adjacent places. Whereupon, one of the Corinthian soldiers thus addressed those that served under Icetes: "And can you who are Greeks readily consent to reduce this city, so spacious in itself, and blessed with so many advantages, into the power of the barbarians, and to bring the Carthaginians, the most deceitful and bloody of them all, into our neighbourhood; when you ought to wish that between them and Greece there were many Sicilies? Or can you think that they have brought an armed force from the Pillars of Hercules and the Atlantic Ocean, and braved the hazards of war, purely to erect a principality for Icetes; who, if he had had the prudence which becomes a general, would never have driven out his founders, to call into his country the worst of his enemies, when he might have obtained of the Corinthians and Timoleon any proper degree of honour and power."

The soldiers that were in pay with Icetes, repeating their discourses often in their camp, gave Mago, who had long wanted a pretence to be gone, room to suspect that he was betrayed. And though Icetes entreated him to stay, and remonstrated upon their great superiority to the enemy, yet he weighed anchor and sailed back to Africa, shamefully and unaccountably suffering Sicily to slip out of his hands.

Next day, Timoleon drew up his army in order of battle before the place; but when he and his Corinthians were told that Mago was fled, and saw the harbour empty, they could not forbear laughing at his cowardice; and by way of mockery they caused proclamation to be made about the city, promising a reward to any one that could give information where



the Carthaginian fleet was gone to hide itself. Icetes, however, had still the spirit to stand a farther shock, and would not let go his hold, but vigorously defended those quarters of the city which he occupied, and which appeared almost impregnable. Timoleon, therefore, divided his forces into three parts; and himself with one of them made his attack by the river of Anapus, where he was likely to meet with the warmest reception; commanding the second, which was under Isias the Corinthian, to begin their operations from the *Achradina*, while Dinarchus and Demaretus, who brought the last reinforcement from Corinth, should attempt the *Epipolæ*: so that several impressions being made at the same time and on every side, the soldiers of Icetes were overpowered and put to flight. Now, that the city was taken by assault, and suddenly reduced, upon the flight of the enemy, we may justly impute to the bravery of the troops and the ability of their general; but that not one Corinthian was either killed or wounded, the fortune of Timoleon claims entirely to herself, willing, as she seems, to maintain a dispute with his valour, and that those who read his story, may rather admire his happy success, than the merit of his actions. The fame of this great achievement soon overspread not only Sicily and Italy, but in a few days it resounded through Greece: so that the city of Corinth, which was in some doubt whether its fleet was arrived in Sicily, was informed by the same messengers, that its forces had made good their passage and were victorious. So well did their affairs prosper, and so much lustre did fortune add to the gallantry of their exploits, by the speediness of their execution.

Timoleon, thus master of the citadel, did not proceed like Dion, or spare the place for its beauty and magnificence; but guarding against the suspicions which first slandered, and then destroyed that great man, he ordered the public crier to give notice "That



all the Syracusans who were willing to have a hand in the work, should come with proper instruments to destroy the bulwarks of tyranny." Hereupon they came one and all, considering that proclamation and that day as the surest commencement of their liberty; and they not only demolished the citadel, but levelled with the ground both the palaces and the monuments of the tyrants. Having soon cleared the place, he built a common hall there for the seat of judicature, at once to gratify the citizens, and to show that a popular government should be erected on the ruins of tyranny.

The city thus taken was found comparatively destitute of inhabitants. Many had been slain in the wars and intestine broils, and many more had fled from the rage of the tyrants. Nay, so little frequented was the market-place of Syracuse, that it produced grass enough for the horses to pasture upon, and for the grooms to repose themselves by them. The other cities, except a very few, were entire deserts, full of deer and wild boars, and such as had leisure for it often hunted them in the suburbs and about the walls; while none of those that had possessed themselves of castles and strong holds could be persuaded to quit them, or come down into the city, for they looked with hatred and horror upon the tribunals and other seats of government, as so many nurseries of tyrants. Timoleon and the Syracusans, therefore, thought proper to write to the Corinthians, to send them a good number from Greece to people Syracuse, because the land must otherwise lie uncultivated, and because they expected a more formidable war from Africa, being informed that Mago had killed himself, and that the Carthaginians, provoked at his bad conduct in the expedition, had crucified his body, and were collecting great forces for the invasion of Sicily the ensuing summer.

These letters of Timoleon being delivered, the Syracusan ambassadors attended at the same time,



and begged of the Corinthians to take their city into their protection, and to become founders of it anew. They did not, however, hastily seize that advantage, or appropriate the city to themselves, but first sent to the sacred games and the other great assemblies of Greece, and caused proclamation to be made by their heralds, "That the Corinthians having abolished arbitrary power in Syracuse, and expelled the tyrant, invited all Syracusans and other Sicilians to people that city, where they should enjoy their liberties and privileges, and have the lands divided by equal lots among them." Then they sent envoys into Asia and the islands, where they were told the greatest part of the fugitives were dispersed, to exhort them all to come to Corinth, where they should be provided with vessels, commanders, and a convoy at the expense of the Corinthians, to conduct them safe to Syracuse. Their intentions thus published, the Corinthians enjoyed the justest praise and the most distinguished glory, having delivered a Grecian city from tyrants, saved it from the barbarians, and restored the citizens to their country. But the persons who met on this occasion at Corinth, not being a sufficient number, desired that they might take others along with them from Corinth and the rest of Greece, as new colonists ; by which means having made up their number full ten thousand, they sailed to Syracuse. By this time great multitudes from Italy and Sicily had flocked into Timoleon ; who, finding their number, as Athanis reports, amount to sixty thousand, freely divided the lands among them, but sold the houses for a thousand talents. By this contrivance he both left it in the power of the ancient inhabitants to redeem their own, and took occasion also to raise a stock for the community, who had been so poor in all respects, and so little able to furnish the supplies for the war, that they had sold the very statues, after having formed a judicial process against each, and passed sentence upon them, as if



they had been so many criminals. On this occasion, we are told, they spared one statue, when all the rest were condemned, namely, that of Gelon, one of their ancient kings, in honour of the man, and for the sake of the victory\* which he gained over the Carthaginians at Himera.

Syracuse being thus revived, and replenished with such a number of inhabitants who flocked to it from all quarters, Timoleon was desirous to bestow the blessing of liberty on the other cities also, and once for all to extirpate arbitrary government out of Sicily. For this purpose, marching into the territories of the petty tyrants, he compelled Ictes to quit the interests of Carthage, to agree to demolish his castles, and to live among the Leontines as a private person. Leptines also, prince of Apollonia and several other little towns, finding himself in danger of being taken, surrendered, and had his life granted him, but was sent to Corinth: for Timoleon looked upon it as a glorious thing, that the tyrants of Sicily should be forced to live as exiles in the city which had colonized that island, and should be seen, by the Greeks, in such an abject condition.

After this, he returned to Syracuse to settle the civil government, and to establish the most important and necessary laws,† along with Cephalaus and Dinarchus, lawgivers sent from Corinth. In the meanwhile, willing that the mercenaries should reap some advantage from the enemy's country, and be

\* He defeated Hamilcar, who landed in Sicily, with three hundred thousand men, in the second year of the seventy-fifth Olympiad.

† Among other wise institutions, he appointed a chief magistrate to be chosen yearly, whom the Syracusans called the *Amphipolus* of Jupiter Olympius; thus giving him a kind of sacred character. The first *Amphipolus* was Commenes. Hence arose the custom among the Syracusans to complete their years by the respective governments of those magistrates; which custom continued in the time of Diodorus Siculus, that is, in the reign of Augustus, above three hundred years after the office of *Amphipolus* was first introduced. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi. c. 12.



kept from inaction, he sent Dinarchus and Demaretus into the Carthaginian province. These drew several cities from the Punic interest, and not only lived in abundance themselves, but also raised money, from the plunder, for carrying on the war. While these matters were transacting, the Carthaginians arrived at Lilybæum, with seventy thousand land forces, two hundred galleys, and a thousand other vessels, which carried machines of war, chariots, vast quantities of provisions, and all other stores ; as if they were now determined not to carry on the war by piecemeal, but to drive the Greeks entirely out of Sicily. For their force was sufficient to effect this, even if the Sicilians had been united, and much more so, harassed as they were with mutual animosities. When the Carthaginians, therefore, found that the Sicilian territories were laid waste, they marched, under the command of Asdrubal and Hamilcar, in great fury, against the Corinthians.

Information of this being brought directly to Syracuse, the inhabitants were struck with such terror by that prodigious armament, that scarce three thousand, out of ten times that number, took up arms and ventured to follow Timoleon. The mercenaries were in number four thousand, and of them about a thousand gave way to their fears, when upon their march, and turned back, crying out, “ That Timoleon must be mad or in his dotage, to go against an army of seventy thousand men, with only five thousand foot and a thousand horse, and to draw his handful of men, too, eight days’ march from Syracuse ; by which means there could be no refuge for those that fled, nor burial for those that fell in battle.”

Timoleon considered it as an advantage, that these cowards discovered themselves before the engagement ; and having encouraged the rest, he led them hastily to the banks of the Crimesus, where he was told the Carthaginians were drawn together. But as he was ascending a hill, at the top of which the



enemy's camp and all their vast forces would be in sight, he met some mules loaded with parsley; and his men took it into their heads that it was a bad omen, because we usually crown the sepulchres with parsley, and thence the proverb with respect to one that is dangerously ill, *Such a one has need of nothing but parsley*. To deliver them from this superstition and to remove the *panic*, Timoleon ordered the troops to halt, and making a speech suitable to the occasion, observed among other things, "That crowns were brought them before the victory, and offered themselves of their own accord." For the Corinthians from all antiquity have looked upon a wreath of parsley as sacred, crowning the victors with it at the Isthmean games: in Timoleon's time it was still in use at those games, as it is now at the Nemean, and it is but lately that the pine-branch has taken its place. The general having addressed his army as we have said, took a chaplet of parsley, and crowned himself with it first, and then his officers and the common soldiers did the same. At that instant the soothsayers observing two eagles flying towards them, one of which bore a serpent which he had pierced through with his talons, while the other advanced with a loud and animating noise, pointed them out to the army, who all betook themselves to prayer and invocation of the gods.

The summer was now begun, and the end of the month *Thargelion* brought on the solstice: the river then sending up a thick mist, the field was covered with it at first, so that nothing in the enemy's camp was discernible, only an inarticulate and confused noise which reached the summit of the hill, showed that a great army lay at some distance. But when the Corinthians had reached the top, and laid down their shields to take breath, the sun had raised the vapours higher, so that the fog being collected upon the summits, covered *them* only, while the places below were all visible. The river Crimesus appeared



clearly, and the enemy were seen crossing it, first with chariots drawn by four horses, and formidably provided for the combat; behind which there marched ten thousand men with white bucklers. These they conjectured to be Carthaginians, by the brightness of their armour, and the slowness and good order in which they moved. They were followed by the troops of other nations, who advanced in a confused and tumultuous manner.

Timoleon observing that the river put it in his power to engage with what number of the enemy he pleased, bade his men take notice how the main body was divided by the stream, part having already got over and part preparing to pass it; and ordered Demaretus with the cavalry to attack the Carthaginians and put them in confusion, before they had time to range themselves in order of battle. Then he himself descending into the plain with the infantry, formed the wings out of other Sicilians, intermingling a few strangers with them; but the natives of Syracuse and the most warlike of the mercenaries he placed about himself in the centre, and stopped a while to see the success of the horse. When he saw that they could not come up to grapple with the Carthaginians, by reason of the chariots that ran to and fro before their army, and that they were obliged often to wheel about to avoid the danger of having their ranks broken, and then to rally again and return to the charge, sometimes here sometimes there, he took his buckler and called to the foot to follow him, and be of good courage, with an accent that seemed more than human, so much was it above his usual pitch; whether it was exalted by his ardour and enthusiasm, or whether (as many were of opinion) the voice of some god was joined to his. His troops answering him with a loud shout, and pressing him to lead them on without delay, he sent orders to the cavalry to get beyond the line of chariots, and take the enemy in flank, while himself thickening his first ranks, so as to join buckler to



buckler, and causing the trumpet to sound, bore down upon the Carthaginians. They sustained the first shock with great spirit; for being fortified with breast-plates of iron and helmets of brass, and covering themselves with large shields, they could easily repel the spears and javelins. But when the business came to a decision by the sword, where art is no less requisite than strength, all on a sudden there broke out dreadful thunders from the mountains, mingled with long trails of lightning; after which the black clouds descending from the tops of the hills, fell upon the two armies in a storm of wind, rain, and hail. The tempest was on the backs of the Greeks, but beat upon the faces of the barbarians, and almost blinded them with the stormy showers and the fire continually streaming from the clouds.

These things very much distressed the barbarians, particularly such of them as were not veterans. The greatest inconvenience seems to have been the roaring of the thunder, and the clattering of the rain and hail upon their arms, which hindered them from hearing the orders of their officers. Besides, the Carthaginians not being light but heavy armed, as I said, the dirt was troublesome to them: and, as the bosoms of their tunics were filled with water, they were very unwieldy in the combat, so that the Greeks could overturn them with ease; and when they were down, it was impossible for them, encumbered as they were with arms, to get out of the mire. For the river Crimesus swoln partly with the rains, and partly having its course stopped by the vast numbers that crossed it, had overflowed its banks. The adjacent field, having many cavities and low places in it, was filled with water which settled there, and the Carthaginians falling into them, could not disengage themselves without extreme difficulty. In short, the storm continuing to beat upon them with great violence, and the Greeks having cut to pieces four hundred men who composed their first ranks, their whole body



was put to flight. Great numbers were overtaken in the field, and put to the sword; many took to the river, and, justling with those that were yet passing it, were carried down and drowned. The major part, who endeavoured to gain the hills, were stopped by the light-armed soldiers, and slain. Among the ten thousand that were killed, it is said there were three thousand natives of Carthage; a heavy loss to that city: for none of its citizens were superior to these, either in birth, fortune, or character, nor have we any account that so many Carthaginians ever fell before in one battle; but as they mostly made use of Libyans, Spaniards, and Numidians, in their wars, if they lost a victory, it was at the expense of the blood of strangers.

The Greeks discovered by the spoils the quality of the killed. Those that stripped the dead set no value upon brass or iron, such was the abundance of silver and gold: for they passed the river, and made themselves masters of the camp and baggage. Many of the prisoners were clandestinely sold by the soldiers, but five thousand were delivered in upon the public account, and two hundred chariots also were taken. The tent of Timoleon afforded the most beautiful and magnificent spectacle. In it were piled all manner of spoils, among which a thousand breast-plates of exquisite workmanship, and ten thousand bucklers, were exposed to view. As there was but a small number to collect the spoils of such a multitude, and they found such immense riches, it was the third day after the battle before they could erect the trophy. With the first news of the victory, Timoleon sent to Corinth the handsomest of the arms he had taken, desirous that the world might admire and emulate his native city, when they saw the fairest temples adorned, not with Grecian spoils, nor with the unpleasing monuments of kindred blood and domestic ruin, but with the spoils of barbarians, which bore this honourable inscription, declaring the justice as



well as valour of the conquerors, "That the people of Corinth, and Timoleon their general, having delivered the Greeks who dwelt in Sicily from the Carthaginian yoke, made this offering, as a grateful acknowledgment to the gods."

After this, Timoleon left the mercenaries to lay waste the Carthaginian province, and returned to Syracuse. By an edict published there, he banished from Sicily the thousand hired soldiers who deserted him before the battle, and obliged them to quit Syracuse before the sunset. These wretches passed over into Italy, where they were treacherously slain by the Brutians. Such was the vengeance which heaven took of their perfidiousness.

Nevertheless, Mamercus, prince of Catana, and Icetes, either moved with envy at the success of Timoleon, or dreading him as an implacable enemy, who thought no faith was to be kept with tyrants, entered into league with the Carthaginians, and desired them to send a new army and general, if they were not willing to lose Sicily entirely. Hereupon, Gisco came with a fleet of seventy ships, and a body of Greeks whom he had taken into pay. The Carthaginians had not employed any Greeks before, but now they considered them as the bravest and most invincible of men.

On this occasion the inhabitants of Messina, rising with one consent, slew four hundred of the foreign soldiers, whom Timoleon had sent to their assistance; and within the dependencies of Carthage, the mercenaries, commanded by Euthymus the Leucadian, were cut off by an ambush at a place called Hieræ.\* Hence the good fortune of Timoleon became still more famous: for these were some of the men who with Philodemus of Phocis and Onomarchus, had broke into the temple of Apollo at Delphi,

\* We do not find there was any place in Sicily called *Hieræ*: in all probability, therefore, it should be read *Hietæ*; for Stephanus *de Urbib.* mentions a castle in Sicily of that name.



and were partakers with them in the sacrilege.\* Shunned as execrable on this account, they wandered about Peloponnesus, where Timoleon, being in great want of men, took them into pay. When they came into Sicily, they were victorious in all the battles where he commanded in person: but after the great struggles of the war were over, being sent upon service where succours were required, they perished by little and little. Herein avenging justice seems to have been willing to make use of the prosperity of Timoleon as an apology for its delay, taking care, as it did, that no harm might happen to the good from the punishment of the wicked; insomuch that the favour of the gods, to that great man, was no less discerned and admired in his very losses than in his greatest success.

Upon any of these little advantages, the tyrants took occasion to ridicule the Syracusans; at which they were highly incensed. Mamercus, for instance, who valued himself on his poems and tragedies, talked in a pompous manner of the victory he had gained over the mercenaries, and ordered this insolent inscription to be put upon the shields which he dedicated to the gods,

These shields† with gold and ivory gay  
To our plain bucklers lost the day.

Afterwards, when Timoleon was laying siege to Ca-

\* The *sacred war* commenced on this occasion. The *Amphictyons* having condemned the people of Phocis in a heavy fine, for plundering the country of Cyrrha, which was dedicated to Apollo, and that people being unable to pay it, their whole country was judged forfeited to that god. Hereupon Philomelus, not Philodemus, called the people together, and advised them to seize the treasures in the temple of Delphi, to enable them to hire forces to defend themselves. This brought on a war that lasted six years, in the course of which most of the sacrilegious persons perished miserably.

† They were shields that had been taken out of the temple at Delphi.



lauria, Icetes took the opportunity to make an inroad into the territories of Syracuse, where he met with considerable booty; and having made great havoc, he marched back by Calauria itself, in contempt of Timoleon and the slender force he had with him. Timoleon suffered him to pass, and then followed him with his cavalry and light-armed foot. When Icetes saw he was pursued he crossed the Damyrias,\* and stood in a posture to receive the enemy on the other side. What emboldened him to do this, was the difficulty of the passage, and the steepness of the banks on both sides. But a strange dispute of jealousy and honour, which arose among the officers of Timoleon, awhile delayed the combat: for there was not one that was willing to go after another, but every man wanted to be foremost in the attack; so that their fording was likely to be very tumultuous and disorderly by their justling each other, and pressing to get before. To remedy this, Timoleon ordered them to decide the matter by lot, and that each for this purpose should give him his ring. He took the rings and shook them in the skirt of his robe, and the first that came up, happening to have a trophy for the seal, the young officers received it with joy, and crying out, that they would not wait for any other lot, made their way as fast as possible through the river, and fell upon the enemy, who, unable to sustain the shock, soon took to flight, throwing away their arms, and leaving a thousand of their men dead upon the spot.

A few days after this, Timoleon marched into the territory of the Leontines, where he took Icetes alive; and his son Eupolemus, and Euthymus, his general of horse, were brought to him bound by the soldiers. Icetes and his son were capitally punished, as tyrants and traitors to their country. Nor did Euthymus find mercy, though remarkably brave and bold in

\* Or the Lymyrias.



action, because he was accused of a severe sarcasm against the Corinthians. He had said, it seems, in a speech he made to the Leontines, upon the Corinthians taking the field, "That it was no formidable matter, if the Corinthian dames were gone out to take the air." Thus the generality of men are more apt to resent a contemptuous word than an unjust action, and can bear any other injury better than disgrace. Every hostile deed is imputed to the necessity of war, but satirical and censorious expressions are considered as the effects of hatred or malignity.

When Timoleon was returned, the Syracusans brought the wife and daughters of Icetes to a public trial, who, being there condemned to die, were executed accordingly. This seems to be the most exceptionable part of Timoleon's conduct: for, if he had interposed, the women would not have suffered. But he appears to have connived at it, and given them up to the resentment of the people, who were willing to make some satisfaction to the *manes* of Dion, who expelled Dionysius. For Icetes was the man who threw Arete the wife of Dion, his sister Aristomache, and his son, who was yet a child, alive into the sea; as we have related in the Life of Dion.\*

Timoleon then marched to Catana against Mamercus, who waited for him in order of battle upon the banks of the Abolus.† Mamercus was defeated and put to flight, with the loss of above two thousand men, no small part of which consisted of the Punic succours sent by Gisco. Hereupon the Carthaginians desired him to grant them peace, which

\* From this passage, and another before, it seems as if the life of Dion was written before this. And yet, in the life of Dion, Plutarch speaks as if this was written first. For there he says, *As we have written in the life of Timoleon*. In one of them, therefore, if not in both, those references must have been made by the Librarians, according to the different order in which these lives were placed.

† Ptolemy and others call this river *Alabus*, *Alabis*, or *Alabon*. It is near Hybla, between Catana and Syracuse.



he did on the following conditions: "That they should hold only the lands within the Lycus;\* that they should permit all who desired it to remove out of their province, with their families and goods, and to settle at Syracuse; and that they should renounce all friendship and alliance with the tyrants." Mamercus, reduced by this treaty to despair, set sail for Italy, with an intent to bring the Lucanians against Timoleon and the Syracusans. But, instead of that, the crews tacking about with the galleys, and returning to Sicily, delivered up Catana to Timoleon; which obliged Mamercus to take refuge at Messena, with Hippo, prince of that city. Timoleon coming upon them, and investing the place both by sea and land, Hippo got on board a ship, and attempted to make his escape, but was taken by the Messenians themselves; who exposed him in the theatre; and calling their children out of the schools, as to the finest spectacle in the world, the punishment of a tyrant, they first scourged him, and then put him to death.

Upon this Mamercus surrendered himself to Timoleon, agreeing to take his trial at Syracuse, on condition that Timoleon himself would not be his accuser. Being conducted to Syracuse, and brought before the people, he attempted to pronounce an oration which he had composed long before for such an occasion; but being received with noise and clamour, he perceived that the assembly were determined to show him no favour. He, therefore, threw off his upper garment, ran through the theatre, and dashed his head violently against one of the steps, with a design to kill himself; but did not succeed according to his wish, for he was taken up alive, and suffered the punishment of thieves and robbers.

\* Plutarch probably took the name of this river as he found it in Diodorus; but other historians call it the Halycus. Indeed, the Carthaginians might possibly give it the oriental aspirate *ha*, which signifies no more than the particle *the*.



In this manner did Timoleon extirpate tyranny, and put a period to their wars. He found the whole island turned almost wild and savage with its misfortunes, so that its very inhabitants could hardly endure it, and yet he so civilized it again, and rendered it so desirable, that strangers came to settle in the country, from which its own people had lately fled; the great cities of Agrigentum and Gela, which after the Athenian war had been sacked and left desolate by the Carthaginians, were now peopled again; the former by Megellus and Pheristus from Elea, and the latter by Gorgus from the isle of Ceos, who also collected and brought with him some of the old citizens. Timoleon not only assured them of his protection, and of peaceful days to settle in, after the tempests of such a war, but cordially entered into their necessities, and supplied them with every thing, so that he was even beloved by them as if he had been their founder. Nay, to that degree did he enjoy the affections of the Sicilians in general, that no war seemed concluded, no laws enacted, no lands divided, no political regulations made, in a proper manner, except it was revised and touched by him: he was the master-builder who put the last hand to the work, and bestowed upon it a happy elegance and perfection. Though at that time Greece boasted a number of great men, whose achievements were highly distinguished, Timotheus (for instance) Agesilaus, Pelopidos, and Epaminondas, the last of whom Timoleon principally vied with in the course of glory, yet we may discern in their actions a certain labour and straining, which diminishes their lustre, and some of them have afforded room for censure, and been followed with repentance; whereas there is not one action of Timoleon (if we except the extremities he proceeded to in the case of his brother) to which we may not, with Timæus, apply that passage of Sophocles,

— What VENUS, or what LOVE,  
Placed the fair parts in this harmonious whole.



For, as the poetry of Antimachus\* and the portraits of Dionysius,† both of them Colophonians, with all the nerve and strength one finds in them, appear to be too much laboured, and smell too much of the lamp; whereas the paintings of Nichomachus‡ and the verses of Homer, besides their other excellences and graces, seem to have been struck off with readiness and ease: so if we compare the exploits of Epaminondas and Agesilaus, performed with infinite pains and difficulty, with those of Timoleon, which, glorious as they were, had a great deal of freedom and ease in them, when we consider the case well, we shall conclude the latter, not to have been the work of fortune indeed, but the effects of fortunate virtue.

He himself, it is true, ascribed all his successes to fortune. For when he wrote to his friends at Corinth, or addressed the Syracusans, he often said, he was highly indebted to that goddess, when she was resolved to save Sicily, for doing it under his name. In his house he built a chapel, and offered sacrifices to *Chance*,§ and dedicated the house itself to *For-*

\* Antimachus was an epic poet, who flourished in the days of Socrates and Plato. He wrote a poem called the *Thebaid*. Quintilian (x. i.) says, he had a force and solidity, together with an elevation of style, and had the second place given him by the grammarians, after Homer; but as he failed in the passions, in the disposition of his fable, and in the ease and elegance of manner, though he was second, he was far from coming near the first.

† Dionysius was a portrait painter. *Plin.* xxxv. 10.

‡ Pliny tells us, “Nicomachus painted with a swift as well as masterly hand; and that his pieces sold for as much as a town was worth.” Aristratus, the tyrant of Sicyon, having agreed with him for a piece of work which seemed to require a considerable time, Nicomachus did not appear till within a few days of that on which he had agreed to finish it. Hereupon the tyrant talked of punishing him; but in those few days he completed the thing in an admirable manner, and entirely to his satisfaction.

§ When the ancients ascribed any event to *fortune*, they did not mean to deny the operations of the Deity in it, but only to exclude all human contrivance and power. And in events ascribed to *chance*, they might possibly mean to exclude the agency of all rational beings, whether human or divine.



*tune*; for the Syracusans had given him one of the best houses in the city, as a reward for his services, and provided him, besides, a very elegant and agreeable retreat in the country. In the country it was that he spent most of his time, with his wife and children, whom he had sent for from Corinth: for he never returned home; he took no part in the troubles of Greece, nor exposed himself to public envy, the rock which great generals commonly split upon in their insatiable pursuits of honour and power; but he remained in Sicily, enjoying the blessings he had established; and of which the greatest of all was, to see so many cities and so many thousands of people happy through his means.

But since, according to the comparison of Simonides, every republic must have some impudent slanderer, just as every lark must have a crest on its head, so it was at Syracuse; for Timoleon was attacked by two demagogues, Laphystius and Demænetus. The first of these having demanded of him sureties that he would answer to an indictment which was to be brought against him, the people began to rise, declaring they would not suffer him to proceed. But Timoleon stilled the tumult, by representing, "That he had voluntarily undergone so many labours and dangers, on purpose that the meanest Syracusan might have recourse, when he pleased, to the laws." And when Demænetus, in full assembly, alleged many articles against his behaviour in command, he did not vouchsafe him any answer; he only said, "He could not sufficiently express his gratitude to the gods, for granting his request, in permitting him to see all the Syracusans enjoy the liberty of saying what they thought fit."

Having then confessedly performed greater things than any Grecian of his time, and been the only man that realized those glorious achievements, to which the orators of Greece were constantly exhorting their countrymen in the general assemblies of the states,



fortune happily placed him at a distance from the calamities in which the mother-country was involved, and kept his hands unstained with its blood. He made his courage and conduct appear in his dealings with the barbarians and with tyrants, as well as his justice and moderation wherever the Greeks or their friends were concerned. Very few of his trophies cost his fellow-citizens a tear, or put any of them in mourning; and yet, in less than eight years, he delivered Sicily from its intestine miseries and distempers, and restored it to the native inhabitants.

After so much prosperity, when he was well advanced in years, his eyes began to fail him, and the defect increased so fast, that he entirely lost his sight. Not that he had done any thing to occasion it, nor was it to be imputed to the caprice of fortune,\* but it seems to have been owing to a family weakness and disorder, which operated together with the course of time. For several of his relations are said to have lost their sight in the same manner, having it gradually impaired by years. But Athanis tells us, notwithstanding, that during the war with Hippon and Mamercus, and while he lay before Millæ, a white speck appeared on his eye, which was a plain indication that blindness was coming on. However, this did not hinder him from continuing the siege, and prosecuting the war, until he got the tyrants in his power. But, when he was returned to Syracuse, he laid down the command immediately, and excused himself to the people from any farther service, as he had brought their affairs to a happy conclusion.

It is not to be wondered, that he bore his misfortune without repining; but it was really admirable to observe the honour and respect which the Syracusans paid him when blind. They not only visited

\* Plutarch here hints at an opinion which was very prevalent among the Pagans, that if any person was signally favoured with success, there would some misfortune happen to counterbalance it. This they imputed to the envy of some malignant demon.



him constantly themselves, but brought all strangers who spent some time amongst them to his house in the town, or to that in the country, that they too might have the pleasure of seeing the deliverer of Syracuse. And it was their joy and their pride that he chose to spend his days with them, and despised the splendid reception which Greece was prepared to give him, on account of his great success. Among the many votes that were passed, and things that were done in honour of him, one of the most striking was that decree of the people of Syracuse, "That whenever they should be at war with a foreign nation, they would employ a Corinthian general." Their method of proceeding, too, in their assemblies, did honour to Timoleon. For they decided smaller matters by themselves, but consulted him in the more difficult and important cases. On these occasions he was conveyed in a litter through the market-place to the theatre; and when he was carried in, the people saluted him with one voice, as he sat. He returned the civility; and having paused a while to give time for their acclamations, took cognizance of the affair, and delivered his opinion. The assembly gave their sanction to it, and then his servants carried the litter back through the theatre; and the people having waited on him with loud applauses, despatched the rest of the public business without him.

With so much respect and kindness was the old age of Timoleon cherished, as that of a common father! and at last he died of a slight illness co-operating with length of years.\* Some time being given the Syracusans to prepare for his funeral, and for the neighbouring inhabitants and strangers to assemble, the whole was conducted with great magnificence. The bier, sumptuously adorned, was carried by young men selected by the people, over the

\* He died the last year of the hundred and tenth Olympiad, three hundred and thirty-five years before the Christian æra.



ground where the palace and castle of the tyrants stood, before they were demolished. It was followed by many thousands of men and women, in the most pompous solemnity, crowned with garlands and clothed in white. The lamentations and tears, mingled with the praises of the deceased, showed that the honour now paid him was not a matter of course, or compliance with a duty enjoined, but the testimony of real sorrow and sincere affection. At last the bier being placed upon the funeral pile, Demetrius, who had the loudest voice of all their heralds, was directed to make proclamation as follows: "The people of Syracuse inter Timoleon the Corinthian, the son of Timodemus, at the expense of two hundred *minæ*: they honour him, moreover, through all time with annual games, to be celebrated with performances in music, horse-racing, and wrestling; as the man who destroyed tyrants, subdued barbarians, re-peopled great cities which lay desolate, and restored to the Sicilians their laws and privileges."

The body was interred, and a monument erected for him in the market-place, which they afterwards surrounded with porticoes and other buildings suitable to the purpose, and then made it a place of exercise for their youth, under the name of *Timoleon-téum*. They continued to make use of the form of government and the laws that he established, and this insured their happiness for a long course of years.\*

\* This prosperity was interrupted about thirty years after, by the cruelties of Agathocles.



## PAULUS ÆMILIUS.

WHEN I first applied myself to the writing of these Lives, it was for the sake of others, but I pursue that study for my own sake ; availing myself of history as of a mirror, from which I learn to adjust and regulate my own conduct. For it is like living and conversing with these illustrious men, when I invite as it were, and receive them, one after another, under my roof; when I consider *how great and wonderful they were*, and select from their actions the most memorable and glorious.

Ye gods ! what greater pleasure ?  
What HAPPIER ROAD TO VIRTUE ?

Democritus has a position in his philosophy,\* utterly false indeed, and leading to endless superstitions, that there are phantasms or images continually floating in the air, some propitious, and some unlucky, and advises us to pray, that such may strike upon our senses, as are agreeable to and perfective of our nature, and not such as have a tendency to vice and error. For my part, instead of this, I fill my mind with the sublime images of the best and greatest men, by attention to history and biography ; and if I contract any blemish or ill custom from other company

\* Democritus held, that visible objects produced their image in the ambient air, which image produced a second, and the second a third still less than the former, and so on till the last produced its counterpart in the eye. This he supposed the process of the act of vision. But he went on to what is infinitely more absurd. He maintained that thought was formed, according as those images struck upon the imagination ; that of these there were some good and some evil ; that the good produced virtuous thoughts in us, and the evil the contrary.



which I am unavoidably engaged in, I correct and expel them, by calmly and dispassionately turning my thoughts to these excellent examples. For the same purpose, I now put in your hands the Life of Timoleon the Corinthian, and that of Æmilius Paulus, men famous not only for their virtues, but their success; insomuch that they have left room to doubt, whether their great achievements were not more owing to their good fortune than their prudence.

Most writers agree, that the Æmilian family was one of the most ancient among the Roman nobility: and it is asserted, that the founder of it, who also left it his surname, was Mamercus\* the son of Pythagoras the philosopher,† who, for the peculiar charms and gracefulness of his elocution was called Æmilius; such, at least, is the opinion of those who say that Numa was educated under Pythagoras.

Those of this family that distinguished themselves,‡ found their attachment to virtue generally blessed with success. And notwithstanding the ill fortune of Lucius Paulus at Cannæ, he shewed on that occasion both his prudence and his valour. For, when he could not dissuade his colleague from fighting, he joined him in the combat, though much against his will, but did not partake with him in his flight: on the contrary, when he who plunged them in the danger, deserted the field, Paulus stood his ground, and fell bravely amidst the enemy, with his sword in his hand.

This Paulus had a daughter named Æmilia, who was married to Scipio the Great, and a son called Paulus, whose history I am now writing.

\* See the life of Numa.

† He is called Pythagoras the philosopher, to distinguish him from Pythagoras the famed wrestler.

‡ From Lucius Æmilius, who was consul in the year of Rome two hundred and seventy, and overcame the Volscians, to Lucius Paulus, who was father to Paulus Æmilius, and who fell at Cannæ, in the year of Rome five hundred and thirty-seven, there were many of those Æmilii renowned for their victories and triumphs.



At the time he made his appearance in the world, Rome abounded in men who were celebrated for their virtues and other excellent accomplishments ;\* and even among these Æmilius made a distinguished figure, without pursuing the same studies, or setting out in the same track, with the young nobility of that age. For he did not exercise himself in pleading causes, nor could he stoop to salute, to solicit, and caress the people, which was the method that most men took who aimed at popularity. Not but that he had talents from nature to acquit himself well in either of these respects, but he reckoned the honour that flows from valour, from justice and probity, preferable to both ; and in these virtues he soon surpassed all the young men of his time.

The first of the great offices of state for which he was a candidate, was that of *Ædile*, and he carried it against twelve competitors, who, we are told, were all afterwards consuls. And when he was appointed one of the *Augurs*, whom the Romans employ in the inspection and care of divination by the flight of birds, and by prodigies in the air, he studied so attentively the usages of his country, and acquainted himself so perfectly with the ancient ceremonies of religion, that what before was only considered as an honour, and sought for on account of the authority annexed to it,† appeared in his hands to be one of the principal arts. Thus he confirmed the definition which is given by some philosophers, *That religion is the science of worshipping the gods*. He did every thing with skill and application ; he laid aside all other concerns while he attended to this, and made not the least omission or innovation, but disputed

\* In that period we find the Sempronii, the Albini, the Fabii Maximi, the Marcelli, the Scipios, the Fulvii, Sulpitii, Cethegi, Metelli ; and other great and excellent men.

† Under pretence that the auspices were favourable or otherwise, the *Augurs* had it in their power to promote or put a stop to any public affair whatever.



with his colleagues about the smallest article, and insisted, that though the deity might be supposed to be merciful, and willing to overlook some neglect, yet it was dangerous for the state to connive at and pass by such things. *For no man ever began his attempts against government with an enormous crime; and the relaxing in the smallest matters, breaks down the fences of the greatest.*

Nor was he less exact in requiring and observing the Roman military discipline. He did not study to be popular in command, nor endeavour, like the generality, to make one commission the foundation for another, by humouring and indulging the soldiery:\* but as a priest instructs the initiated with care in the sacred ceremonies, so he explained to those that were under him the rules and customs of war; and being inexorable, at the same time, to those that transgressed them, he re-established the country in its former glory. Indeed, with him, the beating of an enemy was a matter of much less account, than the bringing of his countrymen to strict discipline; the one seeming to be the necessary consequence of the other.

During the war which the Romans were engaged in with Antiochus the Great,† in the east, and ‡ in which their most experienced officers were employed, another broke out in the west. There was a general revolt in Spain;§ and thither Æmilius was sent, not with six *lictors* only, like other *prætors*, but with twice the number; which seemed to raise his dignity to an equality with the consular. He beat the barbarians

\* The Roman soldiers were, at the same time, citizens, who had votes for the great employments, both civil and military.

† The war with Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, began about the year of Rome five hundred and sixty-one, twenty-four years after the battle of Cannæ.

‡ The consul Glabrio, and after him the two Scipios; the elder of whom was content to serve as lieutenant under his brother, Liv. l. xxxvii.

§ Spain had been reduced by Scipio Nasica.



in two pitched battles,\* and killed thirty thousand of them: which success appears to have been owing to his generalship in choosing his ground, and attacking the enemy while they were passing a river; for by these means his army gained an easy victory. He made himself master of two hundred and fifty cities, which voluntarily opened their gates; and having established peace throughout the province, and secured its allegiance, he returned to Rome, not a *drachma* richer than he went out. He never, indeed, was desirous to enrich himself, but lived in a generous manner on his own estate, which was so far from being large, that after his death, it was hardly sufficient to answer his wife's dowry.

His first wife was Papiria, the daughter of Papirius Maso, a man of consular dignity. After he had lived with her a long time in wedlock he divorced her, though she had brought him very fine children; for she was mother to the illustrious Scipio and to Fabius Maximus. History does not acquaint us with the reason of this separation; but with respect to divorces in general, the account which a certain Roman, who put away his wife, gave of his own case, seems to be a just one. When his friends remonstrated, and asked him, *Was she not chaste? Was she not fair? Was she not fruitful?* he held out his shoe, and said, *Is it not handsome? Is it not new? yet none knows where it wrings him, but he that wears it.* Certain it is, that men usually repudiate their wives for great and visible faults; yet sometimes also a peevishness of temper or incomppliance of manners, small and frequent distastes, though not discerned by the world, produce the most incurable aversions in a married life.†

\* Livy xxxvii. 57. speaks only of one battle, in which Paulus Æmilius forced the entrenchments of the Spaniards, killed eighteen thousand of them, and made three hundred prisoners.

† The very ingenious Dr. Robertson mentions this frequency of divorces as one of the necessary reasons for introducing the Chris-



Æmilius, thus separated from Papiria, married a second wife, by whom he had also two sons. These he brought up in his own house; the sons of Papiria being adopted into the greatest and most noble families in Rome, the elder by Fabius Maximus, who was five times consul, and the younger by his cousin-german, the son of Scipio Africanus, who gave him the name of Scipio. One of his daughters was married to the son of Cato, and the other to Ælius Tubero, a man of superior integrity, and who, of all the Romans, knew best how to bear poverty. There were no less than sixteen of the Ælian family and name, who had only a small house, and one farm amongst them; and in this house they all lived, with their wives and many children. Here dwelt the daughter of Æmilius, who had been twice consul, and had triumphed twice, not ashamed of her husband's poverty, but admiring that virtue which kept him poor.

tian religion at that period of time when it was published to the world. "Divorces," says he, "on very slight pretences were permitted both by the Greek and Roman legislators. And though the pure manners of those republics restrained for some time the operation of such a pernicious institution; though the virtue of private persons seldom abused the indulgence that the legislator allowed them, yet no sooner had the establishment of arbitrary power and the progress of luxury vitiated the taste of men, than the law with regard to divorces was found to be amongst the worst corruptions that prevailed in that abandoned age. The facility of separations rendered married persons careless of practising or obtaining those virtues which render domestic life easy and delightful. The education of their children, as the parents were not mutually endeared or inseparably connected, was generally disregarded, as each parent considered it but a partial care, which might with equal justice devolve on the other. Marriage, instead of restraining, added to the violence of irregular desire, and under a legal title became the vilest and most shameless prostitution. From all these causes the marriage state fell into disreputation and contempt, and it became necessary to force men by penal laws into a society where they expected no secure or lasting happiness. Among the Romans domestic corruption grew of a sudden to an incredible height. And perhaps in the history of mankind we can find no parallel to the undisguised impurity and licentiousness of that age. It was in good time therefore, &c. &c."



Very different is the behaviour of brothers and other near relations in these days ; who, if their possessions be not separated by extensive countries, or at least rivers and bulwarks, are perpetually at variance about them. So much instruction does history suggest to the consideration of those who are willing to profit by it.

When Æmilius was created consul,\* he went upon an expedition against the Ligurians, whose country lies at the foot of the Alps, and who are also called Ligustines : a bold and martial people that learned the art of war of the Romans, by means of their vicinity. For they dwelt in the extremities of Italy, bordering upon that part of the Alps which is washed by the Tuscan sea, just opposite to Africa, and were mixed with the Gauls and Spaniards who inhabited the coast. At that time they had likewise some strength at sea, and their corsairs plundered and destroyed the merchant ships as far as the Pillars of Hercules. They had an army of forty thousand men to receive Æmilius, who came but with eight thousand at the most. He engaged them, however, though five times his number, routed them entirely, and shut them up within their walled towns. When they were in these circumstances, he offered them reasonable and moderate terms. For the Romans did not choose utterly to cut off the people of Liguria, whom they considered as a bulwark against the Gauls, who were always hovering over Italy. The Ligurians, confiding in Æmilius, delivered up their ships and their towns. He only razed the fortifications, and then delivered the cities to them again ; but he carried off their shipping, leaving them not a vessel bigger than those with three banks of oars ; and he set at liberty a number of prisoners whom they had made both at sea and land, as well Romans as strangers.

\* It was the year following that he went against the Ligurians.



Such were the memorable actions of his first consulship. After which he often expressed his desire of being appointed again to the same high office, and even stood candidate for it; but, meeting with a repulse, he solicited it no more. Instead of that he applied himself to the discharge of his function as *augur*, and to the education of his sons, not only in such arts as had been taught in Rome, and those that he had learned himself, but also in the genteeler arts of Greece. To this purpose he not only entertained masters who could teach them grammar, logic, and rhetoric, but sculpture also and painting, together with such as were skilled in breaking and teaching horses and dogs, and were to instruct them in riding and hunting. When no public affairs hindered him, he himself always attended their studies and exercises. In short, he was the most indulgent parent in Rome.

As to the public affairs, the Romans were then engaged in a war with Perseus,\* king of the Macedonians, and they imputed it either to the incapacity or cowardice of their generals† that the advantage was on the enemy's side. For they who had forced Antiochus the Great to quit the rest of Asia,‡ driven him beyond mount Taurus, confined him to Syria, and made him think himself happy if he could purchase his peace with fifteen thousand talents;§ they who had lately vanquished king Philip in Thessaly,|| and delivered the Greeks from the Macedo-

\* This second Macedonian war with Perseus began in the year of Rome five hundred and eighty-two, a hundred and sixty-nine years before the Christian æra.

† Those generals were P. Licinius Crassus, after him A. Hostilius Mancinus, and then Q. Martius Philippus, who dragged the war heavily on during the three years of their consulship.

‡ Seventeen years before.

§ Livy says twelve thousand, which were to be paid in twelve years, by a thousand talents a year.

|| This service was performed by Quinctius Flaminius, who defeated Philip in Thessaly, killed eight thousand of his men upon



nian yoke; in short, they who had subdued Hannibal, to whom no king could be compared either for valour or power, thought it an intolerable thing to be obliged to contend with Perseus upon equal terms, as if *he* could be an adversary able to cope with them, who only brought into the field the poor remains of his father's routed forces. In this, however, the Romans were deceived; for they knew not that Philip, after his defeat, had raised a much more numerous and better disciplined army, than he had before. It may not be amiss to explain this in a few words, beginning at the fountain head. Antigonus,\* the most powerful among the generals and successors of Alexander, having gained for himself and his descendants the title of king, had a son named Demetrius, who was father to Antigonus, surnamed *Gonatus*. *Gonatus* had a son named Demetrius, who, after a short reign, left a young son called *Philip*. The Macedonian nobility, dreading the confusion often consequent upon a minority, set up Antigonus, cousin to the deceased king, and gave him his widow, the mother of Philip, to wife. At first they made him only regent and general, but afterwards, finding that he was a moderate and public-spirited man, they declared him king. He it was that had the name of *Doson*,† because he was always promising, but never performed what he promised. After him, Philip mounted the throne, and though yet but a youth, soon showed himself equal to the greatest of kings, so that it was believed he would restore the crown of Macedon to its ancient dignity, and be the only man that could stop the progress of the Roman

the spot, took five thousand prisoners, and after his victory caused proclamation to be made by an herald, at the Isthmean games, that Greece was free.

\* This Antigonus killed Eumenes, and took Babylon from Seleucus; and when his son Demetrius had overthrown Ptolemy's fleet at Cyprus, he, the first of all Alexander's successors, presumed to wear a diadem, and assumed the title of king.

† *Doson* signifies *will give*.



power, which was now extending itself over all the world. But being beaten at Scotusa by Titus Flaminus, his courage sunk for the present, and promising to receive such terms as the Romans should impose, he was glad to come off with a moderate fine. But recollecting himself afterwards, he could not brook the dishonour. To reign by the courtesy of the Romans, appeared to him more suitable to a slave, who minds nothing but his pleasures, than to a man who has any dignity of sentiment, and therefore he turned his thoughts to war, but made his preparations with great privacy and caution. For suffering the towns that were near the great roads and by the sea, to run to decay, and to become half desolate, in order that he might be held in contempt by the enemy, he collected a great force in the higher provinces; and filling the inland places, the towns, and castles, with arms, money, and men, fit for service, without making any show of war, he had his troops always in readiness for it, like so many wrestlers trained and exercised in secret. For he had in his arsenal arms for thirty thousand men, in his garrisons eight millions of measures of wheat, and money in his coffers to defray the charge of maintaining ten thousand mercenaries for ten years, to defend his country. But he had not the satisfaction of putting these designs in execution; for he died of grief and a broken heart, on discovering that he had unjustly put Demetrius, his more worthy son, to death,\* in consequence of an accusation preferred by his other son, Perseus.

Perseus, who survived him, inherited together with the crown, his father's enmity to the Romans; but he was not equal to such a burden, on account of the littleness of his capacity and the meanness of his manners; avarice being the principal of the many passions that reigned in his distempered heart. It is

\* This story is finely embellished in Dr. Young's tragedy of *The Brothers*.



even said, that he was not the son of Philip, but that the wife of that prince took him, as soon as he was born, from his mother, who was a sempstress of Argos, named Gnathænia, and passed him upon her husband as her own. And the chief reason of his compassing the death of his brother seemed to have been his fear that the royal house, having a lawful heir, might prove him to be suppositious. But though he was of such an abject and ungenerous disposition, yet, elated with the prosperous situation of his affairs, he engaged in war with the Romans, and maintained the conflict a long while, repulsing several of their fleets and armies, commanded by men of consular dignity, and even beating some of them. Publius Licinius was the first that invaded Macedonia, and him he defeated in an engagement of the cavalry,\* killed two thousand five hundred of his best men, and took six hundred prisoners. He surprised the Roman fleet which lay at anchor at Ormeum, took twenty of their store-ships, sunk the rest that were loaded with wheat, and made himself master, besides, of four galleys which had each five benches of oars. He fought also another battle, by which he drove back the consul Hostilius, who was attempting to enter his kingdom by Elimia; and when the same general was stealing in by the way of Thessaly, he presented himself before him, but the Roman did not choose to stand the encounter. And as if this war did not sufficiently employ him, or the Romans alone were not an enemy respectable enough, he went upon an expedition against the Dardanians, in which he cut in pieces ten thousand of them, and brought off much booty. At the same time he privately solicited

\* Livy has given us a description of this action at the end of his forty-second book. Perseus offered peace to those he had beaten upon as easy conditions as if he himself had been overthrown, but the Romans refused it: they made it a rule, indeed, never to make peace when beaten. The rule proved a wise one for that people, but can never be universally adopted.



the Gauls, who dwell near the Danube, and who are called Bastarnæ. These were a warlike people, and strong in cavalry. He tried the Illyrians too, hoping to bring them to join him by means of Gentius their king; and it was reported that the barbarians had taken his money, under promise of making an inroad into Italy, by the Lower Gaul, along the coast of the Adriatic.\*

When this news was brought to Rome, the people thought proper to lay aside all regard to interest and solicitation in the choice of their generals, and to call to the command a man of understanding, fit for the direction of great affairs. Such was Paulus Æmilius, a man advanced in years indeed (for he was about threescore) but still in his full strength, and surrounded with young sons, and sons-in-law, and a number of other considerable relations and friends, who all persuaded him to listen to the people, that called him to the consulship. At first he received the offer of the citizens very coldly, though they went so far as to court and even to entreat him; for he was now no longer ambitious of that honour; but as they daily attended at his gate and loudly called upon him to make his appearance in the *forum*, he was at length prevailed upon. When he put himself among the candidates, he looked not like a man who sued for the consulship, but as one who brought success along with him: and when, at the request of the citizens, he went down into the *Campus Martius*, they all received him with so entire a confidence and such a cordial regard, that upon their creating him consul the second time, they would not suffer

\* He practised also with Eumenes king of Bithynia, and caused representations to be made to Antiochus king of Syria, that the Romans were equally enemies to all kings: but Eumenes demanding fifteen hundred talents, a stop was put to the negotiation. The very treating, however, with Perseus, occasioned an inveterate hatred between the Romans and their old friend Eumenes; but that hatred was of no service to Perseus.



the lots to be cast for the provinces,\* as usual, but voted him immediately the direction of the war in Macedonia. It is said, that after the people had appointed him commander in chief against Perseus, and conducted him home in a very splendid manner, he found his daughter Tertia, who was yet but a child, in tears. Upon this he took her in his arms, and asked her "Why she wept?" The girl embracing and kissing him, said, "Know you not then, father, that Perseus is dead?" meaning a little dog of that name, which she had brought up. To which Æmilius replied, "'Tis a lucky incident, child, I accept the omen." This particular is related by Cicero, in his *Treatise on Divination*.

It was the custom for those that were appointed to the consulship, to make their acknowledgments to the people in an agreeable speech from the *rostrum*. Æmilius having assembled the citizens on this occasion, told them, "He had applied for his former consulship, because he wanted a command; but in this, they had applied to him, because they wanted a commander: and therefore, at present, he did not hold himself obliged to them. If they could have the war better directed by another, he would readily quit the employment; but if they placed their confidence in him, he expected they would not interfere with his orders, or propagate idle reports, but provide in silence what was necessary for the war: for, if they wanted to command their commanders, their expeditions would be more ridiculous than ever." It is not easy to express how much reverence this speech procured him from the citizens, and what high expectations it produced of the event. They rejoiced that they had passed by the smooth-tongued candidates, and made choice of a general who had so much freedom of speech and such dignity of manner. Thus the Romans submitted, like servants, to reason

\* Livy says the contrary.



and virtue, in order that they might one day rule, and become masters of the world.

That Paulus Æmilius, when he went upon the Macedonian expedition, had a prosperous voyage and journey, and arrived with speed and safety in the camp, I impute to his good fortune; but when I consider how the war was conducted, and see that the greatness of his courage, the excellence of his counsels, the attachment of his friends, his presence of mind, and happiness in expedients in times of danger, all contributed to his success, I cannot place his great and distinguished actions to any account but his own. Indeed, the avarice of Perseus may possibly be looked upon as a fortunate circumstance for Æmilius; since it blasted and ruined the great preparations and elevated hopes of the Macedonians, by a mean regard to money. For the Bastarnæ came, at his request, with a body of ten thousand horse,\* each of which had a foot-soldier by his side, and they all fought for hire; men they were that knew not how to till the ground, to feed cattle, or to navigate ships, but whose sole profession and employment was to fight and to conquer. When these pitched their tents in Medica, and mingled with the king's forces, who beheld them tall in their persons, ready beyond expression at their exercises, lofty and full of menaces against the enemy, the Macedonians were inspired with fresh courage, and a strong opinion, that the Romans would not be able to stand

\* Livy (xliv. 26.) has well described this horseman and his foot-soldier. He says, "There came ten thousand horse, and as many foot, who kept pace with the horse, and when any of the cavalry were unhorsed, they mounted, and went into the ranks." They were the same people with those described by Cæsar in the first book of his Commentaries, where he is giving an account of Ariovistus's army. As soon as Perseus had intelligence of the approach of the Bastarnæ, he sent Antigonus to congratulate Clondicus their king. Clondicus made answer, that the Gauls could not march a step farther without money; which Perseus in his avarice and ill policy refused to advance.



against these mercenaries, but he terrified both at their looks and at their strange and astonishing motions.

After Perseus had filled his people with such spirits and hopes, the barbarians demanded of him a thousand pieces of gold for every officer; but the thoughts of parting with such a sum almost turned his brain, and in the narrowness of his heart, he refused it, and broke off the alliance; as if he had not been at war with the Romans, but a steward for them, who was to give an exact account of his whole expenses to those whom he was acting against. At the same time\* the example of the enemy pointed out to him better things; for, besides their other preparations, they had an hundred thousand men collected and ready for their use: and yet he having to oppose so considerable a force, and an armament that was maintained at such an extraordinary expense, counted his gold and sealed his bags, as much afraid to touch them as if they had belonged to another. And yet he was not descended from any Lydian or Phœnician merchant, but allied to Alexander and Philip, whose maxim it was *to procure empire with money, and not money by empire*, and who, by pursuing that maxim, conquered the world. For it was a common saying, “That it was not Philip, but

\* We agree with the editor of the former English translation, that the original here is extremely corrupted and very difficult to be restored; and that it seems improbable that the Romans should have an army of a hundred thousand men in Macedonia. But the improbability lessens, if we consider that Paulus Æmilius applied on this occasion to the allies, especially the Achæans, for what forces they could spare, and if we take in those that acted on board the Roman fleet. Æmilius, indeed, just before the battle, expresses his apprehensions from the enemy's superiority of numbers; and it is true that he had none to depend upon but the Romans, who were comparatively few. As for his Grecian allies, he could not place much confidence in them, because it was their interest that the kingdom of Macedon should stand; and, in fact, when that fell, severe tribunals were set up in Greece, and the shadow of liberty, which remained to it, was lost.



Philip's gold, that took the cities of Greece." As for Alexander, when he went upon the Indian expedition, and saw the Macedonians dragging after them a heavy and unwieldy load of Persian wealth, he first set fire to the royal carriages, and then persuaded the rest to do the same to theirs, that they might move forward to the war, light and unencumbered. Whereas Perseus, though he and his children, and his kingdom, overflowed with wealth, would not purchase his preservation at the expense of a small part of it, but was carried a wealthy captive to Rome, and showed that people what immense sums he had saved and laid up for them.

Nay, he not only deceived and sent away the Gauls, but also imposed upon Gentius king of the Illyrians, whom he prevailed with to join him, in consideration of a subsidy of three hundred talents. He went so far as to order the money to be counted before that prince's envoys, and suffered them to put their seal upon it. Gentius, thinking his demands were answered, in violation of all the laws of honour and justice, seized and imprisoned the Roman ambassadors who were at his court. Perseus now concluded that there was no need of money to draw his ally into the war, since he had unavoidably plunged himself into it, by an open instance of violence, and an act of hostility which would admit of no excuse, and therefore he defrauded the unhappy man of the three hundred talents, and without the least concern beheld him, his wife, and children, in a short time after, dragged from their kingdom, by the prætor Lucius Anicus, who was sent at the head of an army against Gentius.

Æmilius, having to do with such an adversary as Perseus, despised, indeed, the man, yet could not but admire his preparations and his strength. For he had four thousand horse, and near forty thousand foot who composed the *phalanx*: and being encamped by the sea-side, at the foot of Mount Olym-



pus, in a place that was perfectly inaccessible, and strengthened on every side with fortifications of wood, he lay free from all apprehensions, persuaded that he should wear out the consul by protracting the time and exhausting his treasures. But Æmilius, always vigilant and attentive, weighed every expedient and method of attack; and perceiving that the soldiers, through the want of discipline in time past, were impatient of delay, and ready to dictate to their general things impossible to be executed, he reproved them with great severity, ordering them not to intermeddle, or give attention to any thing but their own persons and their arms, that they might be in readiness to use their swords as became Romans, when their commander should give them an opportunity. He ordered also the sentinels to keep watch without their pikes,\* that they might guard the better against sleep, when they were sensible that they had nothing to defend themselves with against the enemy, who might attack them in the night.

But his men complained the most of want of water; for only a little, and that but indifferent, flowed, or rather came drop by drop, from some springs near the sea. In this extremity, Æmilius, seeing Mount Olympus before him, very high and covered with trees, conjectured, from their verdure, that there must be springs in it which would discharge themselves at the bottom, and therefore caused several pits and wells to be dug at the foot of it. These were soon filled with clear water, which ran into them with the greater force and rapidity, because it had been confined before.

Some, however, deny, that there are any hidden sources constantly provided with water in the places

\* Livy says, *without their shields*; the reason of which was this, the Roman shields being long, they might rest their heads upon them, and sleep standing. Æmilius, however, made one order in favour of the soldiers upon guard; for he ordered them to be relieved at noon, whereas before they used to be upon duty all day.



from which it flows; nor will they allow the discharge to be owing to the opening of a vein; but they will have it, that the water is formed instantaneously, from the condensation of vapours, and that by the coldness and pressure of the earth a moist vapour is rendered fluid. For, as the breasts of women are not, like vessels, stored with milk always ready to flow, but prepare and change the nutriment that is in them into milk; so the cold and springy places of the ground have not a quantity of water hid within them, which, as from reservoirs always full, can be sufficient to supply large streams and rivers; but by compressing and condensing the vapours and the air, they convert them into water. And such places being opened, afford that element freely, just as the breasts of women do milk from their being suckled, by compressing and liquefying the vapour; whereas the earth that remains idle and undug cannot produce any water, because it wants that motion which alone is the true cause of it.

But those that teach this doctrine, give occasion to the sceptical to observe, that by a parity of reason there is no blood in animals, but that the wound produces it, by a change in the flesh and spirits, which that impression renders fluid. Besides, that doctrine is refuted by those who, digging deep in the earth to undermine some fortification, or to search for metals, meet with deep rivers, not collected by little and little, which would be the case, if they were produced at the instant the earth was opened, but rushing upon them at once in great abundance. And it often happens upon the breaking of a great rock, that a quantity of water issues out, which as suddenly ceases. So much for springs.

Æmilius sat still for some days, and it is said that there never were two great armies so near each other, that remained so quiet. But trying and considering every thing, he got information that there was one way only left unguarded, which lay through Perrhæbia,



by Pythium and Petra ; and conceiving greater hope from the defenceless condition of the place, than fear from its rugged and difficult appearance, he ordered the matter to be considered in council.

Scipio, surnamed Nasica, son-in-law to Scipio Africanus, who afterwards was a leading man in the senate, was the first that offered to head the troops in taking this circuit to come at the enemy. And after him, Fabius Maximus, the eldest son of Æmilius, though he was yet but a youth, expressed his readiness to undertake the enterprise. Æmilius, delighted with this circumstance, gave them a detachment, not so large indeed as Polybius gives account of, but the number that Nasica mentions in a short letter wherein he describes this action to a certain king. They had three thousand Italians, who were not Romans, and five thousand men besides, who composed the left wing. To these Nasica added a hundred and twenty horse, and two hundred Thracians and Cretans intermixed, who were of the troops of Harpalus.

With this detachment he began to march towards the sea, and encamped at Heracleum,\* as if he intended to sail round, and come upon the enemy's camp behind ; but when his soldiers had supped, and night came on, he explained to the officers his real design, and directed them to take a different route. Pursuing this, without loss of time, he arrived at Pythium, where he ordered his men to take some rest. At this place Olympus is ten furlongs and ninety-six feet in height, as it is signified in the inscription made by Xenagoras the son of Eumelus, the man that measured it. The geometricians, indeed, affirm, that there is no mountain in the world more than ten furlongs high, nor sea above that depth, yet it appears

\* The consul gave out that they were to go on board the fleet, which, under the command of Octavius the prætor, lay upon the coast, in order to waste the maritime parts of Macedonia, and so to draw Perseus from his camp.



that Xenagoras did not take the height in a careless manner, but regularly and with proper instruments.

Nasica passed the night there. Perseus, for his part, seeing Æmilius lie quiet in his camp, had not the least thought of the danger that threatened him; but a Cretan deserter who slipped from Scipio by the way, came and informed him of the circuit the Romans were taking in order to surprise him. This news put him in great confusion, yet he did not remove his camp; he only sent ten thousand foreign mercenaries and two thousand Macedonians under Milo, with orders to possess themselves of the heights with all possible expedition. Polybius relates that the Romans fell upon them while they were asleep, but Nasica tells us there was a sharp and dangerous conflict for the heights; that he himself killed a Thracian mercenary who engaged him, by piercing him through the breast with his spear; and that the enemy being routed, and Milo put to a shameful flight without his arms, and in his under garment only, he pursued them without any sort of hazard, and led his party down into the plain. Perseus, terrified at this disaster, and disappointed in his hopes, decamped and retired. Yet he was under a necessity of stopping before Pydna, and risking a battle, if he did not choose to divide his army to garrison his towns,\* and there expect the enemy, who, when once entered into his country, could not be driven out without great slaughter and bloodshed.

His friends represented to him, that his army was still superior in numbers, and that they would fight with great resolution in defence of their wives and children, and in sight of their king, who was a part-

\* His best friends advised him to garrison his strongest cities with his best troops, and to lengthen out the war, experience having shown that the Macedonians were better able to defend cities than the Romans were to take them; but this opinion the king rejected from this cowardly principle, that perhaps the town he chose for his residence might be first besieged.



ner in their danger. Encouraged by this representation, he fixed his camp there; he prepared for battle, viewed the country, and assigned each officer his post, as intending to meet the Romans when they came off their march. The field where he encamped, was fit for the *phalanx*, which required plain and even ground to act in; near it was a chain of little hills, proper for the light-armed to retreat to, and to wheel about from the attack: and through the middle ran the rivers Æson and Leucus, which though not very deep, because it was the latter end of summer, were likely to give the Romans some trouble.

Æmilius having joined Nasica, marched in good order against the enemy. But when he saw the disposition and number of their forces, he was astonished, and stood still to consider what was proper to be done. Hereupon the young officers, eager for the engagement, and particularly Nasica, flushed with his success at Mount Olympus, pressed up to him, and begged of him to lead them forward without delay. Æmilius only smiled and said, "My friend, if I was of your age, I should certainly do so: but the many victories I have gained have made me observe the errors of the vanquished, and forbid me to give battle immediately after a march, to an army well drawn up, and every way prepared."

Then he ordered the foremost ranks, who were in sight of the enemy, to present a front, as if they were ready to engage, and the rear, in the meantime, to mark out a camp, and throw up entrenchments; after which, he made the battalions wheel off by degrees, beginning with those next the soldiers at work, so that their disposition was insensibly changed, and his whole army encamped without noise.

When they had supped, and were thinking of nothing but going to rest, on a sudden the moon, which was then at full, and very high, began to be darkened, and after changing into various colours, was at



last totally eclipsed.\* The Romans, according to their custom, made a great noise by striking upon vessels of brass, and held up lighted faggots and torches in the air, in order to recal her light; but the Macedonians did no such thing; horror and astonishment seized their whole camp, and a whisper passed among the multitude, that this appearance portended the fall of the king. As for Æmilius, he was not entirely unacquainted with this matter; he had heard of the ecliptic inequalities which bring the moon, at certain periods, under the shadow of the earth, and darken her, till she has passed that quarter of obscurity, and receives light from the sun again. Nevertheless, as he was wont to ascribe most events to the Deity, was a religious observer of sacrifices and of the art of divination, he offered up to the moon eleven heifers, as soon as he saw her regain her former lustre. At break of day, he also sacrificed oxen to Hercules, to the number of twenty, without any auspicious sign; but in the twenty-first the desired tokens appeared, and he announced victory to his troops, provided they stood upon the defensive.† At the same time he vowed a hecatomb and solemn games in honour of that god, and then commanded

\* Livy tells us, that Sulpitius Gallus, one of the Roman tribunes, foretold this eclipse; first to the consul and then with his leave to the army, whereby that terror which eclipses were wont to breed in ignorant minds, was entirely taken off, and the soldiers more and more disposed to confide in officers of so great wisdom, and of such general knowledge.

† Here we see Æmilius availed himself of augury, to bring his troops the more readily to comply with what he knew was most prudent.—He was sensible of their eagerness and impetuosity, but he was sensible at the same time that coolness and calm valour were more necessary to be exerted against the Macedonian phalanx, which was not inferior in courage and discipline to the Romans, and therefore he told them, that the gods enjoined them to stand upon the defensive, if they desired to be victorious. Another reason why Æmilius deferred the fight, was, as Plutarch tells us, because the morning sun was full in the eyes of his soldiers.



the officers to put the army in order of battle; staying, however, till the sun should decline, and get round to the west, lest, if they came to action in the morning, it should dazzle the eyes of his soldiers; he sat down in the meantime in his tent, which was open towards the field and the enemy's camp.

Some say, that towards evening, he availed himself of an artifice, to make the enemy begin the fight. It seems he turned a horse loose without a bridle, and sent out some Romans to catch him, who were attacked while they were pursuing him, and so the engagement began. Others say, that the Thracians, commanded by one Alexander, attacked a Roman convoy; that seven hundred Ligurians making up to its assistance, a sharp skirmish ensued; and that larger reinforcements being sent to both parties, at last the main bodies were engaged. Æmilius, like a wise pilot, foreseeing, by the agitation of both armies, the violence of the impending storm, came out of his tent, passed through the ranks, and encouraged his men. In the meantime, Nasica, who had rode up to the place where the skirmish began, saw the whole of the enemy's army advancing to the charge.

First of all marched the Thracians, whose very aspect struck the beholders with terror. They were men of a prodigious size; their shields were white and glistening; their vests were black, their legs armed with greaves; and as they moved, their long pikes, heavy-shod with iron, shook on their right shoulders. Next came the mercenaries, variously armed, according to the manner of their respective countries: with these were mixed the Pæonians. In the third place moved forward the battalions of Macedon, the flower of its youth and the bravest of its sons: their new purple vests and gilded arms, made a splendid appearance. As these took their post, the *Chalchespides* moved out of the camp; the fields gleamed with the polished steel and the brazen shields which they bore, and the mountains re-echoed



to their *cheers*. In this order they advanced, and that with so much boldness and speed, that the first of their slain\* fell only two furlongs from the Roman camp.

As soon as the attack was begun, Æmilius advancing to the first ranks, found that the foremost of the Macedonians had struck the heads of their pikes into the shields of the Romans, so that it was impossible for his men to reach their adversaries with their swords. And when he saw the rest of the Macedonians take their bucklers from their shoulders, join them close together, and with one motion present their pikes against his legions, the strength of such a rampart, and the formidable appearance of such a front struck him with terror and amazement. He never, indeed, saw a more dreadful spectacle, and he often mentioned afterwards the impression it made upon him. However, he took care to show a pleasant and cheerful countenance to his men, and even rode about without either helmet or breastplate. But the king of Macedon, as Polybius tells us, as soon as the engagement was begun, gave way to his fears, and withdrew into the town, under pretence of sacrificing to Hercules; a god that accepts not the timid offerings of cowards, nor favours any unjust vows. And surely it is not just, that the man who never shoots should bear away the prize; that he who deserts his post, should conquer; that he who is despicably indolent, should be successful; or that a bad man should be happy. But the god attended to the prayers of Æmilius; for he begged for victory and success with his sword in his hand, and fought while he implored the divine aid. Yet one Posidonius,† who says he lived in those times, and was pre-

\* The light-armed.

† This could not be Posidonius of Apamea, who wrote a continuation of Polybius's history; for that Posidonius went to Rome during the consulship of Marcellus, a hundred and eighteen years after this battle. Plutarch, indeed, seems to have taken him either



sent at that action, in the history of Perseus, which he wrote in several books, affirms, that it was not out of cowardice, nor under pretence of offering sacrifice that he quitted the field, but because the day before the fight, he received a hurt on his leg, from the kick of a horse; that when the battle came on, though very much indisposed, and dissuaded by his friends, he commanded one of his horses to be brought, mounted him, and charged, without a breastplate, at the head of the *phalanx*; and that, amidst the shower of massive weapons of all kinds, he was struck with a javelin of iron, not indeed with the point, but it glanced in such a manner upon his left side, that it not only rent his clothes, but gave him a bruise in the flesh, the mark of which remained a long time. This is what Posidonius says in defence of Perseus.

The Romans, who engaged the *phalanx*, being unable to break it, Salius, a Pelignian officer, snatched the ensign of his company and threw it among the enemy. Hereupon, the Pelignians, rushing forward to recover it, for the Italians look upon it as a great crime and disgrace to abandon their standard, a dreadful conflict and slaughter on both sides ensued. The Romans attempted to cut the pikes of the Macedonians asunder with their swords, to beat them back with their shields, or to put them by with their hands: but the Macedonians holding them steady with both hands, pierced their adversaries through their armour, for neither shield nor corslet was proof against the pike.\* The Pelignians, and Marrucians were thrown headlong down, who without any sort of discretion, or rather with a brutal fury, had

for a counterfeit, or a writer of no account, when he calls him *one Posidonius, who tells us he lived at that time.*

\* This shows the advantage which the pike has over the broadsword: and the bayonet is still better, because it gives the soldier the free use of his musket, without being encumbered with a pike, and when screwed to the musket, supplies the place of a pike.



exposed themselves to wounds, and run upon certain death. The first line thus cut in pieces, those that were behind were forced to give back, and though they did not fly, yet they retreated towards Mount Olocrus. Æmilius seeing this, rent his clothes, as Posidonius tells us. He was reduced almost to despair, to find that part of his men had retired, and that the rest declined the combat with a *phalanx* which, by reason of the pikes that defended it on all sides like a rampart, appeared impenetrable and invincible. But as the unevenness of the ground and the large extent of the front would not permit their bucklers to be joined through the whole, he observed several interstices and openings in the Macedonian line; as it happens in great armies, according to the different efforts of the combatants, who in one part press forward, and in another are forced to give back. For this reason, he divided his troops, with all possible expedition, into platoons, which he ordered to throw themselves into the void spaces of the enemy's front; and so, not to engage with the whole at once, but to make many impressions at the same time in different parts. These orders being given by Æmilius to the officers, and by the officers to the soldiers, they immediately made their way between the pikes, wherever there was an opening;\* which was no sooner done, than some took the enemy in flank, where they were quite exposed, while others fetched a compass, and attacked them in the rear: thus was the *phalanx* soon broken, and its strength, which depended upon one united effort, was no more. When they came to fight man with man, and party with party, the Macedonians had only short swords to strike the long shields of the Romans, that reached from head to foot, and slight bucklers to oppose to

\* On the first appearance of this, Perseus should have charged the Romans very briskly with his horse, and by that means have given his infantry time to recover themselves; but instead of this, they basely provided for their own safety by a precipitate flight.



the Roman swords, which, by reason of their weight and the force with which they were managed, pierced through all their armour to the bodies; so that they maintained their ground with difficulty, and in the end were entirely routed.

It was here, however, that the greatest efforts were made on both sides; and here Marcus, the son of Cato, and son-in-law to Æmilius, after surprising acts of valour, unfortunately lost his sword. As he was a youth who had received all the advantages of education, and who owed to so illustrious a father extraordinary instances of virtue, he was persuaded that he had better die, than leave such a spoil in the hands of his enemies. He, therefore, flew through the ranks, and wherever he happened to see any of his friends or acquaintance, he told them his misfortune, and begged their assistance. A number of brave young men was thus collected, who following their leader with equal ardour, soon traversed their own army, and fell upon the Macedonians. After a sharp conflict and dreadful carnage, the enemy was driven back, and the ground being left vacant, the Romans sought for the sword, which with much difficulty was found under a heap of arms and dead bodies. Transported with this success, they charged those that remained unbroken, with still greater eagerness and shouts of triumph. The three thousand Macedonians, who were all select men, kept their station, and maintained the fight, but at last were entirely cut off. The rest fled; and terrible was the slaughter of those. The field and the sides of the hills were covered with the dead, and the river Leucus, which the Romans crossed the day after the battle, was even then mixed with blood. For it is said that about twenty-five thousand were killed on the Macedonian side; whereas the Romans, according to Posidonius, lost but one hundred; Nasica says, only fourscore.\*

\* Utterly impossible! if the circumstances of the fight are considered; but Livy's account is lost.



This great battle was soon decided, for it began at the ninth hour,\* and victory declared herself before the tenth. The remainder of the day was employed in the pursuit, which was continued for the space of an hundred and twenty furlongs, so that it was far in the night when they returned. The servants went with torches to meet their masters, and conducted them with shouts of joy to their tents, which they had illuminated, and adorned with crowns of ivy and laurel.†

But the general himself was overwhelmed with grief. For, of the two sons that served under him, the youngest, whom he most loved, and who, of all the brothers, was most happily formed for virtue, was not to be found. He was naturally brave and ambitious of honour, and withal very young,‡ he concluded that his inexperience had engaged him too far in the hottest of the battle, and that he was certainly killed. The whole army was sensible of his sorrow and distress; and leaving their supper, they ran out with torches, some to the general's tent, and some out of the trenches to seek him among the first of the slain. A profound melancholy reigned in the camp, while the field resounded with the cries of those that called upon Scipio. For, so admirably had Nature tempered him, that he was very early marked out by the world, as a person beyond the rest of the youth, likely to excel in the arts both of war and of civil government.

It was now very late, and he was almost given up, when he returned from the pursuit, with two or three

\* i. e. three in the afternoon.

† The laurel was sacred to Apollo, and the ivy to Bacchus. Bacchus, who is sometimes supposed to be the same with Hercules, was a warrior, and we read of his expedition into India. But the Roman custom of adorning the tents of the victors with ivy, the plant of Bacchus, might arise from a more simple cause; Cæsar, in his third book of the civil wars, says, that in Pompey's camp he found the tent of Lentulus and some others covered with ivy: so sure had they made themselves of the victory.

‡ He was then in his seventeenth year.



friends, covered with the fresh blood of the foe, like a generous young hound, carried too far by the charms of the chase. This is that Scipio, who afterwards destroyed Carthage and Numantia, and was incomparably the first, both in virtue and power, of the Romans of his time. Thus fortune did not choose at present to make Æmilius pay for the favour she did him, but deferred it to another opportunity; and therefore he enjoyed this victory, with full satisfaction.

As for Perseus, he fled from Pydna to Pella, with his cavalry, which had suffered no loss. When the foot overtook them, they reproached them as cowards and traitors, pulled them off their horses, and wounded several of them; so that the king dreading the consequences of the tumult, turned his horse out of the common road, and, lest he should be known, wrapped up his purple robe, and put it before him; he also took off his diadem, and carried it in his hand, and that he might converse the more conveniently with his friends, alighted from his horse and led him. But they all slunk away from him by degrees; one under pretence of tying his shoe, another of watering his horse, and a third of being thirsty himself: not that they were so much afraid of the enemy, as of the cruelty of Perseus, who exasperated with his misfortunes, sought to lay the blame of his miscarriage on any body but himself. He entered Pella in the night, where he killed with his poniard Euctes and Eudæus, two of his treasurers; who, when they waited upon him, had found fault with some of his proceedings, and provoked him by an unseasonable liberty of admonition. Hereupon, every body forsook him, except Evander the Cretan, Archedamus the Ætolian, and Neon the Bœotian: nor did any of his soldiers follow him, but the Cretans, who were not attached to his person, but to his money, as bees are to the honey-comb. For he carried great treasure along with him, and suffered them to take out of it cups and bowls, and other



vessels of gold and silver,\* to the value of fifty talents. But when he came to Amphipolis, and from thence to Alepsus,† his fears a little abating, he sunk again into his old and inborn distemper of avarice; he lamented to his friends, that he had inadvertently given up to the Cretans some of the gold plate of Alexander the Great, and he applied to those that had it, and even begged of them with tears, to return it him for the value in money. Those that knew him well, easily discovered that he was *playing the Cretan with the Cretans*;‡ but such as were prevailed upon to give up the plate, lost all; for he never paid the money. Thus he got thirty talents from his friends, which soon after were to come into the hands of his enemies, and with these he sailed to Samothrace, where he took refuge at the altar of Castor and Pollux.§

The Macedonians have always had the character of being lovers of their kings;|| but now, as if the chief bulwark of their constitution was broken down, and all were fallen with it, they submitted to Æmilius,

\* He was afraid to give it them, lest the Macedonians out of spite should take all the rest.

† A manuscript copy has it Galepsus, probably upon the authority of Livy.

‡ It was an ancient Proverb, *The Cretans are always liars*. St. Paul has quoted it from Callimachus.

§ He carried with him two thousand talents.

|| When Perseus was at Amphipolis, being afraid that the inhabitants would take him and deliver him up to the Romans, he came out with Philip, the only child he had with him, and having mounted the tribunal, began to speak; but his tears flowed so fast, that, after several trials, he found it impracticable to proceed. Descending again from the tribunal, he spoke to Evander, who then went up to supply his place, and began to speak; but the people, who hated him, refused to hear him, crying out, "Be gone, be gone; we are resolved not to expose ourselves, our wives, and our children, for your sakes. Fly, therefore, and leave us to make the best terms we can with the conquerors." Evander had been the principal actor in the assassination of Eumenes, and was afterwards despatched in Samothrace, by order of Perseus, who was afraid that Evander would accuse him as the author of that murder.



and in two days he was master of all Macedonia. This seems to give some countenance to those who impute these events to fortune. A prodigy, which happened at Amphipolis, testified also the favour of the gods. The consul was offering sacrifice there, and the sacred ceremonies were begun, when a flash of lightning fell upon the altar, and at once consumed and consecrated the victim. But the share which fame had in this affair exceeds both that prodigy and what they tell us of his good fortune. For, on the fourth day after Perseus was beaten at Pydna, as the people were at the equestrian games in Rome, a report was suddenly spread in the first seats of the theatre, that Æmilius had gained a great battle over Perseus, and overturned the kingdom of Macedon. The news was made public in a moment, the multitude clapped their hands and set up great acclamations, and it passed current that day in the city. Afterwards, when it appeared that it had no good foundation, the story dropped for the present; but when a few days after it was confirmed beyond dispute,\* they could not but admire the report which was its harbinger, and the fiction which turned to truth.

In like manner it is said that an account of the battle of the Italians near the river Sagara, was carried into Peloponnesus the same day it was fought; and of the defeat of the Persians at Mycale, with equal expedition, to Plataea: and that very soon after the battle which the Romans gained over the Tarquins and the people of Latium, that fought under their banners, two young men of uncommon size and beauty, who were conjectured to be Castor and Pollux, arrived at Rome, from the army, with the news of it. The first man they met with, by the fountain in the market-place, as they were refreshing

\* It was confirmed by the arrival of Q. Fabius Maximus, the son of Æmilius, L. Lentulus, and Q. Metellus, who had been sent express by Æmilius, and reached Rome the twentieth day after the action.



their horses, that foamed with sweat, expressed his surprise at their account of the victory; whereupon they are said to have smiled, and to have stroked his beard, which immediately turned from black to yellow. This circumstance gained credit to his report, and got him the surname of *Ænobarbus*, or *Yellow Beard*.

All these stories are confirmed by that which happened in our times. For when Lucius Antonius rebelled against Domitian, Rome was much alarmed, and expected a bloody war in Germany, but on a sudden, and of their own proper motion, the people raised a report, and spread it over the city, that Antonius was vanquished and slain, that his army was cut in pieces, and not one man had escaped. Such a run had the news, and such was the credit given to it, that many of the magistrates offered sacrifice on the occasion. But when the author of it was sought after, they were referred from one to another, all their inquiries were eluded, and at last the news was lost in the immense crowd, as in a vast ocean. Thus the report, appearing to have no solid foundation, immediately vanished. But as Domitian was marching his forces to chastise the rebels, messengers and letters met him on the road, which brought an account of the victory. Then they found that it was won the same day the report was propagated, though the field of battle was more than twenty thousand furlongs from Rome. This is a fact which no one can be unacquainted with.

But to return to the story of Perseus: Cneius Octavius, who was joined in command with Æmilius, came with his fleet to Samothrace, where, out of reverence to the gods,\* he permitted Perseus to enjoy

\* The gods of Samothrace were dreaded by all nations. The pagans carried their prejudices so far in favour of those pretended deities, that they were struck with awe upon the bare mention of their names. Of all the oaths that were in use among the ancients, that by these gods was deemed the most sacred and inviolable. Such



the protection of the asylum, but watched the coasts and guarded against his escape. Perseus, however, found means privately to engage one Orandes, a Cretan, to take him and his treasure into his vessel, and carry them off. He, like a true Cretan, took in the treasure, and advised Perseus to come in the night, with his wife and children, and necessary attendants to the port called Demetrium; but, before this, he had set sail. Miserable was the condition of Perseus, compelled as he was to escape through a narrow window, and to let himself down by the wall, with his wife and children, who had little experienced such fatigue and hardship; but still more pitiable were his groans when, as he wandered by the shore, one told him, that he had seen Orandes a good way off at sea. By this time it was day, and, destitute of all other hope, he fled back to the wall. He was not, indeed, undiscovered, yet he reached the place of refuge, with his wife, before the Romans could take measures to prevent it. His children he put in the hands of Ion, who had been his favourite, but now was his betrayer; for he delivered them up to the Romans; and so by the strongest necessity with which nature can be bound, obliged him, as beasts do, when their young are taken, to yield himself to those who had his children in their power.

He had the greatest confidence in Nasica, and for him he inquired; but as he was not there, he bewailed his fate, and sensible of the necessity he lay

as were found not to have observed this oath were looked upon as the curse of mankind, and persons devoted to destruction. Diodorus (lib. v.) tells us that these gods were always present, and never failed to assist those that were initiated, and called upon them in any sudden and unexpected danger; and that none ever duly performed their ceremonies without being amply rewarded for their piety. No wonder, then, if the places of refuge in this island were very highly revered. Besides the temple of Castor and Pollux, to which Perseus fled, there was also a wood, esteemed such, where those who were admitted to the holy rites of the *Cabiri*, used to meet.



under, he surrendered himself to Octavius. Then it appeared more plain than ever, that he laboured under a more despicable disease than avarice itself—I mean the fear of death; and this deprived him even of pity, the only consolation of which fortune does not rob the distressed. For when he desired to be conducted to Æmilius,\* the consul rose from his seat, and, accompanied with his friends, went to receive him with tears in his eyes, as a great man unhappily fallen through the displeasure of the gods. But Perseus behaved in the vilest manner; he bowed down with his face to the earth, he embraced the Roman's knees; his expressions were so mean and his entreaties so abject, that Æmilius could not endure them; but regarding him with an eye of regret and indignation, “Why dost thou, wretched man!” said he, “acquit fortune of what might seem her greatest crime, by a behaviour which makes it appear that thou deservest her frowns, and that thou art not only now, but hast been long unworthy the protection of that goddess? Why dost thou tarnish my laurels, and detract from my achievements, by showing thyself a mean adversary, and unfit to cope with a Roman? Courage in the unfortunate is highly revered, even by an enemy; and cowardice, though it meets with success, is held in great contempt among the Romans.”

Notwithstanding this severe rebuke, he raised him up, gave him his hand, and delivered him into the custody of Tubero. Then taking his sons, his

\* Octavius, as soon as he had the king in his power, put him on board the admiral galley, and having embarked also all his treasure that was left, the Roman fleet weighed and stood for Amphipolis. An express was dispatched from thence to acquaint Æmilius with what had happened, who sent Tubero, his son-in-law, with several persons of distinction, to meet Perseus. The consul ordered sacrifices to be immediately offered, and made the same rejoicings as if a new victory had been obtained. The whole camp ran out to see the royal prisoner, who, covered with a mourning cloak, walked alone to the tent of Æmilius.



sons-in-law, and the principal officers, particularly the younger sort, back with him into his tent, he sat a long time silent, to the astonishment of the whole company. At last, he began to speak of the vicissitudes of fortune, and of human affairs. "Is it fit then," said he, "that a mortal should be elated by prosperity, and plume himself upon the overturning a city, or a kingdom? Should we not rather attend to the instructions of fortune, who, by such visible marks of her instability, and of the weakness of human power, teaches every one that goes to war, to expect from her nothing solid and permanent? what time for confidence can there be to man, when in the very instant of victory, he must necessarily dread the power of fortune, and the very joy of success must be mingled with anxiety, from a reflection on the course of unsparing fate, which humbles one man to-day, and to-morrow another? when one short hour has been sufficient to overthrow the house of Alexander, who arrived at such a pitch of glory, and extended his empire over great part of the world; when you see princes that were lately at the head of immense armies, receive their provisions for the day from the hands of their enemies; shall you dare to flatter yourselves that fortune has firmly settled your prosperity, or that it is proof against the attacks of time? shall you not rather, my young friends, quit this elation of heart, and the vain raptures of victory, and humble yourselves in the thought of what may happen hereafter, in the expectation that the gods will send some misfortune to counterbalance the present success?" Æmilius, they tell us, having said a great deal to this purpose, dismissed the young men, seasonably chastised with this grave discourse, and restrained in their natural inclination to arrogance.

When this was done, he put his army in quarters, while he went to take a view of Greece. This progress was attended both with honour to himself, and advantage to the Greeks; for he redressed the peo-



ple's grievances, he reformed their civil government, and gave them gratuities, to some wheat, and to others oil, out of the royal stores; in which such vast quantities are said to have been found, that the number of those that asked and received was too small to exhaust the whole. Finding a great square pedestal of white marble at Delphi, designed for a golden statue of Perseus, he ordered his own to be put upon it;\* alleging, that it was but just, that the conquered should give place to the conqueror. At Olympia, we are told, he uttered that celebrated saying, "This Jupiter of Phidias is the very Jupiter of Homer."

Upon the arrival of the ten commissioners † from Rome for settling the affairs of Macedonia, he declared the lands and cities of the Macedonians free, and ordered that they should be governed by their own laws; only reserving a tribute to the Romans of a hundred talents, which was not half what their kings had imposed.

After this he exhibited various games and spectacles, offered sacrifices to the gods, and made great entertainments; for all which he found an abundant supply in the treasures of the king. And he showed so just a discernment in the ordering, the placing, and saluting of his guests, and in distinguishing what degree of civility was due to every man's rank and quality, that the Greeks were amazed at his knowledge of matters of mere politeness, and that amidst

\* This was not quite so consistent with his humiliating discourse on the vicissitudes of fortune.

† These ten legates were all men of consular dignity, who came to assist Æmilius in settling a new form of government. The Macedonians were not much charmed with the promise of liberty, because they could not well comprehend what that liberty was. They saw evident contradictions in the decree, which, though it spoke of leaving them under their own laws, imposed many new ones, and threatened more. What most disturbed them, was a division of their kingdom, whereby, as a nation, they were separated and disjointed from each other.



his great actions, even trifles did not escape his attention, but were conducted with the greatest decorum. That which afforded him the highest satisfaction was, that, notwithstanding the magnificence and variety of his preparations, he himself gave the greatest pleasure to those he entertained. And to those that expressed their admiration of his management on these occasions, he said, "That it required the same genius to draw up an army and to order an entertainment;\* that the one might be most formidable to the enemy, and the other most agreeable to the company."

Among his other good qualities, his disinterestedness and magnanimity stood foremost in the esteem of the world. For he would not so much as look upon the immense quantity of silver and gold that was collected out of the royal palaces, but delivered it to the *quæstors*, to be carried into the public treasury. He reserved only the books of the king's library for his sons, who were men of letters; and in distributing rewards to those that had distinguished themselves in the battle, he gave a silver cup of five pounds weight to his son-in-law, Ælius Tubero. This is that Tubero who, as we have already mentioned, was one of the sixteen relations that lived together, and were all supported by one small farm; and this piece of plate, acquired by virtue and honour, is affirmed to be the first that was in the family of the Ælians; neither they nor their wives having, before this, either used or wanted any vessels of silver or gold.

After he had made every proper regulation,† taken

\* To these two particulars, of drawing up an army, and ordering an entertainment, Henry the IVth of France added—the making love.

† At the close of these proceedings, Andronicus the Ætolian, and Neo the Bœotian, because they had always been friends to Perseus, and had not deserted him even now, were condemned and lost their heads. So unjust amidst all the specious appearances of justice were the conquerors.



his leave of the Greeks, and exhorted the Macedonians to remember the liberty which the Romans had bestowed on them,\* and to preserve it by good laws and the happiest harmony, he marched into Epirus. The senate had made a decree, that the soldiers who had fought under him against Perseus should have the spoil of the cities of Epirus. In order, therefore, that they might fall upon them unexpectedly, he sent for ten of the principal inhabitants of each city, and fixed a day for them to bring in whatever silver and gold could be found in their houses and temples. With each of these he sent a centurion and guard of soldiers, under pretence of searching for and receiving the precious metal, and as for this purpose only. But when the day came, they rushed upon all the inhabitants, and began to seize and plunder them. Thus in one hour an hundred and fifty thousand persons were made slaves, and seventy cities sacked. Yet from this general ruin and desolation, each soldier had no more than eleven drachmas to his share. How shocking was such a destruction for the sake of such advantage!

Æmilius, having executed this commission, so contrary to his mildness and humanity, went down to Oricum, where he embarked his forces, and passed over into Italy. He sailed up the Tiber in the king's galley, which had sixteen ranks of oars, and was richly adorned with arms taken from the enemy, and with cloth of scarlet and purple; and the banks of the river being covered with multitudes that came to

\* This boasted favour of the Romans to the people of Macedon, was certainly nothing extraordinary. Their country being now divided into four districts, it was declared unlawful for any person to intermarry, to carry on any trade, to buy or sell any lands to any one who was not an inhabitant of his own district. They were prohibited to import any salt; or to sell any timber fit for building ships to the barbarian nations. All the nobility, and their children exceeding the age of fifteen, were commanded immediately to transport themselves into Italy: and the supreme power, in Macedon, was vested in certain Roman senators.



see the ship as it sailed slowly against the stream, the Romans in some measure anticipated his triumph.

But the soldiers, who looked with longing eyes on the wealth of Perseus, when they found their expectations disappointed, indulged a secret resentment, and were ill affected to Æmilius. In public they alleged another cause. They said he had behaved in command in a severe and imperious manner, and therefore they did not meet his wishes for a triumph. Servius Galba, who had served under Æmilius, as a tribune, and who had a personal enmity to him, observing this, pulled off the mask, and declared that no triumph ought to be allowed him. Having spread among the soldiery several calumnies against the general, and sharpened the resentment which they had already conceived, Galba requested another day of the tribunes of the people ; because the remaining four hours, he said, were not sufficient for the intended impeachment. But as the tribunes ordered him to speak then, if he had any thing to say, he began a long harangue full of injurious and false allegations, and spun it out to the end of the day. When it was dark, the tribunes dismissed the assembly. The soldiers, now more insolent than ever, thronged about Galba ; and animating each other, before it was light took their stand again in the Capitol, where the tribunes had ordered the assembly to be held.

As soon as day appeared, it was put to the vote, and the first tribe gave it against the triumph. When this was understood by the rest of the assembly and the senate, the commonalty expressed great concern at the injury done to Æmilius, but their words had no effect : the principal senators insisted that it was an insufferable attempt, and encouraged each other to repress the bold and licentious spirit of the soldiers, who would in time stick at no instance of injustice and violence,\* if something was not done to

\* This was sadly verified in the times of the Roman emperors.



prevent their depriving Paulus Æmilius of the honours of his victory. They pushed, therefore, through the crowd, and coming up in a body, demanded that the tribunes would put a stop to the suffrages, until they had delivered what they had to say to the people. The poll being stopped accordingly, and silence made, Marcus Servilius, a man of consular dignity, who had killed three and twenty enemies in single combat, stood up, and spoke as follows:

“ I am now sensible, more than ever, how great a general Paulus Æmilius is, when with so mutinous and disorderly an army he has performed such great and honourable achievements: but I am surprised at the inconsistency of the Roman people, if after rejoicing in the triumphs over the Illyrians and Ligurians, they envy themselves the pleasure of seeing the king of Macedon brought alive, and all the glory of Alexander and Philip led captive by the Roman arms. For is it not a strange thing for you, who upon a slight rumour of the victory brought hither some time since, offered sacrifices, and made your requests to the gods, that you might soon see that account verified; now the consul is returned with a real victory, to rob the gods of their due honour, and yourselves of the satisfaction, as if you were afraid to behold the greatness of the conquest, or were willing to spare the king? though indeed, it would be much better to refuse the triumph out of mercy to him, than envy to your general. But to such excess is your malignity arrived, that a man who never received a wound, a man shining in delicacy and fattened in the shade, dares discourse about the conduct of the war and the right to a triumph, to you who at the expense of so much blood have learned how to judge of the valour or misbehaviour of your commanders.”

At the same time, baring his breast, he showed an incredible number of scars upon it, and then turning his back, he uncovered some parts which it is reckoned indecent to expose; and addressing himself



to Galba, he said, "Thou laughest at this ; but I glory in these marks before my fellow-citizens : for I got them by being on horseback day and night in their service. But go on to collect the votes ; I will attend the whole business, and mark those cowardly and ungrateful men, who had rather have their own inclinations indulged in war, than be properly commanded." This speech, they tell us, so humbled the soldiery, and effected such an alteration in them, that the triumph was voted to Æmilius by every tribe.

The triumph is said to have been ordered after this manner. In every theatre, or as they call it, *circus*, where equestrian games used to be held, in the *forum*, and other parts of the city, which were convenient for seeing the procession, the people erected scaffolds, and on the day of the triumph were all dressed in white. The temples were set open, adorned with garlands, and smoking with incense. Many *lictors* and other officers compelled the disorderly crowd to make way, and opened a clear passage. The triumph took up three days. On the first, which was scarce sufficient for the show, were exhibited the images, paintings, and colossal statues, taken from the enemy, and now carried in two hundred and fifty chariots. Next day, the richest and most beautiful of the Macedonian arms were brought up in a great number of waggons. These glittered with new furbished brass and polished steel ; and, though they were piled with great art and judgment, yet seemed to be thrown together promiscuously ; helmets being placed upon shields, breastplates upon greaves, Cretan targets, Thracian bucklers, and quivers of arrows huddled among the horses' bits, with the points of naked swords and long pikes appearing through on every side. All these arms were tied together with such a just liberty, that room was left for them to clatter as they were drawn along, and the clank of them was so harsh and terrible, that they were not seen



without dread, though among the spoils of the conquered. After the carriages, loaded with arms, walked three thousand men, who carried the silver money in seven hundred and fifty vessels, each of which contained three talents, and was borne by four men. Others brought bowls, horns, goblets, and cups, all of silver, disposed in such order as would make the best show, and valuable not only for their size but the depth of the basso relievo. On the third day, early in the morning, first came up the trumpets, not with such airs as are used in a procession of solemn entry, but with such as the Romans sound when they animate their troops to the charge. These were followed by an hundred and twenty fat oxen, with their horns gilded, and set off with ribbons and garlands. The young men that led these victims, were girded with belts of curious workmanship; and after them came the boys who carried the gold and silver vessels for the sacrifice. Next went the persons that carried the gold coin\* in vessels which held three talents each, like those that contained the silver, and which were to the number of seventy-seven. Then followed those that bore the consecrated bowl,† of ten talents weight, which Æmilius had caused to be made of gold, and adorned with precious stones; and those that exposed to view the cups of Antigonus of Seleucus, and such as were of the make of the famed artist, Shericles, together with the gold plate that had been used at Perseus's table. Immediately after, was to be seen

\* According to Plutarch's account, there were 2250 talents of silver coin, and 231 of gold coin. According to Valerius Antias it amounted to somewhat more; but Livy thinks his computation too small, and Velleius Paterculus makes it almost twice as much. The account which Paterculus gives of it is probably right, since the money now brought from Macedonia set the Romans free from all taxes for one hundred and twenty-five years.

† This bowl weighed six hundred pounds: for the talent weighed sixty pounds. It was consecrated to Jupiter.



the chariot of that prince, with his armour upon it, and his diadem upon that, at a little distance his children were led captive, attended by a great number of governors, masters, and preceptors, all in tears, who stretched out their hands by way of supplication to the spectators, and taught the children to do the same. There were two sons and one daughter, all so young, that they were not much affected with the greatness of their misfortunes. This insensibility of theirs made the change of their condition more pitiable; insomuch that Perseus passed on almost without notice: so fixed were the eyes of the Romans upon the children from pity of their fate, that many of them shed tears, and none tasted the joy of the triumph without a mixture of pain, till they were gone by. Behind the children and their train walked Perseus himself, clad all in black, and wearing sandals of the fashion of his country. He had the appearance of a man that was overwhelmed with terror, and whose reason was almost staggered with the weight of his misfortunes. He was followed by a great number of friends and favourites, whose countenances were oppressed with sorrow, and who, by fixing their weeping eyes continually upon their prince, testified to the spectators, that it was his lot which they lamented, and that they were regardless of their own. He had sent, indeed, to Æmilius, to desire that he might be excused from being led in triumph, and being made a public spectacle. But Æmilius despising his cowardice and attachment to life, by way of derision, it seems, sent him word, "That it had been in his power to prevent it, and still was, if he were so disposed;" hinting, that he should prefer death to disgrace. But he had not the courage to strike the blow, and the vigour of his mind being destroyed by vain hopes, he became a part of his own spoils. Next were carried four hundred coronets of gold, which the cities had sent Æmilius, along with their embassies, as compliments on his victory.



Then came the consul himself, riding in a magnificent chariot ; a man, exclusive of the pomp of power, worthy to be seen and admired, but his good mien was now set off with a purple robe interwoven with gold, and he held a branch of laurel in his right hand. The whole army likewise carried boughs of laurel, and divided into bands and companies, followed the general's chariot : some singing satirical songs usual on such occasions, and some chanting odes of victory, and the glorious exploits of Æmilius, who was revered and admired by all, and whom no good man could envy.

But, perhaps there is some superior Being, whose office it is to cast a shade upon any great and eminent prosperity, and so to mingle the lot of human life, that it may not be perfectly free from calamity ; but those, as Homer says,\* may think themselves most happy to whom fortune gives an equal share of good and evil. For Æmilius having four sons, two of which, namely, Scipio and Fabius, were adopted into other

\* Plutarch here refers to a passage in the speech of Achilles to Priam in the last Iliad, which is thus translated by Pope :

Two urns by Jove's high throne have ever stood,  
The source of evil one, and one of good.  
From thence the cup of mortal man he fills,  
Blessings to these, to those distributes ills ;  
To most, he mingles both : the wretch decreed  
To taste the bad unmix'd, is curs'd indeed.  
The happiest taste not happiness sincere,  
But find the cordial draught is dash'd with care.

Plato has censured it as an impiety to say that God gives evil. God is not the author of evil. Moral evil is the result of the abuse of free agency, natural evil is the consequence of the imperfection of matter : and the Deity stands justified in his creating beings liable to both, because natural imperfection was necessary to a progressive existence, moral imperfection was necessary to virtue, and virtue was necessary to happiness. However, Homer's allegory seems borrowed from the eastern manner of speaking : Thus in the Psalms, *In the hand of the Lord there is a cup, and he poureth out the same ; as for the dregs thereof, all the ungodly of the earth shall drink them.* Psal. lxxv. 8.



families, as has been mentioned above, and two others by his second wife, as yet but young, whom he brought up in his own house ; one of these died at fourteen years of age, five days before his father's triumph, and the other at twelve, three days after. There was not a man among the Romans that did not sympathise with him in this affliction. All were shocked at the cruelty of fortune,\* who scrupled not to introduce such deep distress into a house that was full of pleasure, of joy, and festal sacrifices, and to mix the songs of victory and triumph with the mournful dirges of death.

Æmilius, however, rightly considering that mankind have need of courage and fortitude, not only against swords and spears, but against every attack of fortune, so tempered and qualified the present emergencies, as to overbalance the evil by the good, and his private misfortunes by the public prosperity ; that nothing might appear to lessen the importance, or tarnish the glory of his victory. For, soon after the burial of the first of his sons, he made, as we said, his triumphal entry ; and upon the death of the second soon after the triumph, he assembled the people of Rome, and made a speech to them, not like a man that wanted consolation himself, but like one who could alleviate the grief which his fellow-citizens felt for his misfortunes.

“ Though I have never,” said he, “ feared any thing human, yet among things divine I have always had a dread of fortune, as the most faithless and variable of beings ; and because in the course of this war she prospered every measure of mine, the rather did I expect that some tempest would follow so fa-

\* Or more properly, the just and visible interposition of Providence, to punish in some measure that general havoc of the human species which the Roman pride and avarice had so recently made in Greece. For though God is not the author of evil, it is no impeachment of his goodness to suppose that by particular punishments he chastises particular crimes.



vourable a gale. For in one day I passed the Ionian from Brundusium to Corcycra: from thence in five days I reached Delphi, and sacrificed to Apollo. In five days more I took upon me the command of the army in Macedonia; and, as soon as I had offered the usual sacrifices for purifying it, I proceeded to action, and in the space of fifteen days from that time put a glorious period to the war. Distrusting the fickle goddess on account of such a run of success, and now being secure and free from all danger with respect to the enemy, I was most apprehensive of a change of fortune in my passage home; having such a great and victorious army to conduct, together with the spoils and royal prisoners. Nay, when I arrived safe among my countrymen, and beheld the city full of joy, festivity, and gratitude, still I suspected fortune, knowing that she grants us no great favour without some mixture of uneasiness or tribute of pain. Thus full of anxious thoughts of what might happen to the commonwealth, my fears did not quit me, till this calamity visited my house, and I had my two promising sons, the only heirs I had left myself, to bury one after another, on the very days sacred to triumph. Now therefore I am secure as to the greatest danger, and I trust and am fully persuaded that fortune will continue kind and constant to us, since she has taken sufficient usury for her favours of me and mine; for the man who led the triumph is as great an instance of the weakness of human power as he that was led captive: there is only this difference, that the sons of Perseus, who were vanquished, are alive; and those of Æmilius, who conquered, are no more."

Such was the generous speech which Æmilius made to the people, from a spirit of magnanimity that was perfectly free from artifice.

Though he pitied the fate of Perseus, and was well inclined to serve him, yet all he could do for him, was to get him removed from the common prison



to a cleaner apartment and better diet. In that confinement, according to most writers, he starved himself to death. But some say the manner of his death was very strange and peculiar. The soldiers, they tell us, who were his keepers, being on some account provoked at him, and determined to wreck their malice, when they could find no other means of doing it, kept him from sleep, taking turns to watch him, and using such extreme diligence to keep him from rest, that at last he was quite wearied out and died.\* Two of his sons also died; and the third, named Alexander, is said to have been distinguished for his art in turning and other small work; and having perfectly learned to speak and write the Roman language, he was employed by the magistrates as a clerk,† in which capacity he showed himself very serviceable and ingenious.

Of the acts of Æmilius with regard to Macedonia, the most acceptable to the Romans was, that from thence he brought so much money into the public treasury, that the people had no occasion to pay any taxes till the times of Hiritius and Pansa, who were consuls in the first war between Antony and Cæsar. Æmilius had also the uncommon and peculiar happiness, to be highly honoured and caressed by the people, at the same time that he remained attached to the patrician party, and did nothing to ingratiate himself with the commonalty, but ever acted in concert with men of the first rank, in matters of government. This conduct of his was afterwards alleged by way of reproach against Scipio Africanus, by

\* This account we have from Diodorus Siculus, *ap. Phot. Biblioth.* Philip is said to have died before his father, but how or where cannot be collected, because the books of Livy, and of Diodorus Siculus, which treat of those times, are lost.

† Here was a remarkable instance of the pride of the Roman senate, to have the son of a vanquished king for their clerk: while Nicomedes, the son of Prusias king of Bithynia, was educated by them with all imaginable pomp and splendour, because the father had put him under the care of the republic.



Appius. These two being then the most considerable men in Rome, stood for the censorship; the one having the senate and nobility on his side, for the Appian family were always in that interest, and the other not only great in himself, but ever greatly in favour with the people. When, therefore, Appius saw Scipio come into the *forum* attended by a crowd of mean persons, and many who had been slaves, but who were able to cabal, to influence the multitude, and to carry all before them, either by solicitation or clamour, he cried out, "O Paulus Æmilius! groan, groan from beneath the earth, to think that Æmilius the crier and Lycinius the rioter conduct thy son to the censorship!" It is no wonder if the cause of Scipio was espoused by the people, since he was continually heaping favours upon them. But Æmilius, though he ranged himself on the side of the nobility, was as much beloved by the populace as the most insinuating of their demagogues. This appeared in their bestowing upon him, among other honours, that of the censorship, which is the most sacred of all offices, and which has great authority annexed to it, as in other respects, so particularly in the power of inquiring into the morals of the citizens. For the censors could expel from the senate any member that acted in a manner unworthy of his station, and enrol a man of character in that body; and they could disgrace one of the equestrian order who behaved licentiously, by taking away his horse. They also took account of the value of each man's estate, and registered the number of the people. The number of citizens which Æmilius took, was three hundred thirty-seven thousand four hundred and fifty-two. He declared Marcus Æmilius Lepidus first senator, who had already four times arrived at that dignity. He expelled only three senators, who were men of no note; and with equal moderation both he and his colleague Marcius Philippus behaved in examining into the conduct of the knights.



Having settled many important affairs while he bore this office, he fell into a distemper, which at first appeared very dangerous, but in time became less threatening, though it still was troublesome and difficult to be cured. By the advice therefore of his physicians, he sailed to Velia,\* where he remained a long time near the sea, in a very retired and quiet situation. In the meantime the Romans greatly regretted his absence, and by frequent exclamations in the theatres, testified their extreme desire to see him again. At last, a public sacrifice coming on, which necessarily required his attendance, Æmilius seeming now sufficiently recovered returned to Rome, and offered that sacrifice, with the assistance of the other priests, amidst a prodigious multitude of people, who expressed their joy for his return. Next day he sacrificed again to the gods for his recovery. Having finished these rites, he returned home and went to bed: when he suddenly fell into a delirium, in which he died the third day, having attained to every thing that is supposed to contribute to the happiness of man.

His funeral was conducted with wonderful solemnity; the cordial regard of the public did honour to his virtue, by the best and happiest obsequies. These did not consist in the pomp of gold, of ivory, or other expense and parade, but in esteem, in love, in veneration, expressed not only by his countrymen, but by his very enemies. For as many of the Spaniards, Ligurians, and Macedonians,† as happened to be then

\* Plutarch here writes Elea instead of Velia, and calls it a town in Italy, to distinguish it from one of that name in Greece.

† There were some of the Macedonian nobility, who were then at Rome. Valerius Maximus says, it was like a second triumph to Æmilius, to have these persons assist in supporting his bier, which was adorned with representations of his conquest of their country. In fact, it was more honourable than the triumph he had led up, because this bore witness to his humanity, and the other only to his valour.



at Rome, and were young and robust, assisted in carrying his bier; while the aged followed it, calling Æmilius their benefactor, and the preserver of their countries. For he not only, at the time he conquered them, gained the character of humanity, but continued to do them services, and to take care of them, as if they had been his friends and relations.

The estate he left behind him scarcely amounted to the sum of three hundred and seventy thousand *denarii*, of which he appointed his sons joint heirs: but Scipio, the younger son, who was adopted into the opulent house of Africanus, gave up his part to his brother. Such is the account we have of the life and character of Paulus Æmilius.\*

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### TIMOLEON AND PAULUS ÆMILIUS COMPARED.

IF we consider these two great men as history has represented them, we shall find no striking difference between them in the comparison. Both carried on wars with very respectable enemies; the one with the Macedonians, the other with the Carthaginians; and both with extraordinary success. One of them conquered Macedon, and crushed the house of Antigonus, which had flourished in a succession of seven kings; the other expelled tyranny out of Sicily, and restored that island to its ancient liberty. It may be in favour of Æmilius, that he had to do with Perseus when in his full strength, and when he had beaten the Romans; and Timoleon with Dionysius, when reduced to very desperate circumstances: as, on the

\* A saying of his to his son Scipio is worth mentioning: *A good general never gives battle, but when he is led to it, either by the last necessity, or by a very favourable occasion.*



other hand, it may be observed to the advantage of Timoleon, that he subdued many tyrants, and defeated a great army of Carthaginians, with such forces as he happened to pick up, who were not veteran and experienced troops like those of Æmilius, but mercenaries and undisciplined men, who had been accustomed to fight only at their own pleasure. For equal exploits, with unequal means and preparations, reflect the greater glory on the general who performs them.

Both paid a strict regard to justice and integrity in their employments. Æmilius was prepared from the first to behave so, by the laws and manners of his country; but Timoleon's probity was owing entirely to himself. A proof of this is, that in the time of Æmilius good order universally prevailed among the Romans, through a spirit of obedience to their laws and usages, and a reverence of their fellow-citizens; whereas, not one of the Grecian generals who commanded in Sicily, kept himself uncorrupted, except Dion: and many entertained a jealousy that even he affected monarchy, and dreamed of setting up such a regal authority as that in Lacedæmon. Timæus informs us, that the Syracusans sent away Gylippus loaded with infamy, for his insatiable avarice and rapacity, while he had the command; and many writers give account of the misdemeanours and breach of articles which Pharax the Spartan, and Callippus the Athenian, were guilty of, in hopes of gaining the sovereignty of Sicily. But what were these men, and on what power did they build such hopes? Pharax was a follower of Dionysius, who was already expelled, and Callippus was an officer in the foreign troops in the service of Dion. But Timoleon was sent to be general of the Syracusans, at their earnest request; he had not an army to provide, but found one ready formed, which cheerfully obeyed his orders; and yet he employed this power for no other end, than the destruction of their oppressive masters.



Yet again, it was to be admired in Æmilius, that, though he subdued so opulent a kingdom, he did not add one *drachma* to his substance. He would not touch, nor even look upon the money himself, though he gave many liberal gifts to others. I do not, however, blame Timoleon for accepting of a handsome house and lands: for it is no disgrace to take something out of so much, but to take nothing at all is better; and that is the most consummate virtue which shows that it is above pecuniary considerations, even when it has the best claim to them.

As some bodies are able to bear heat, and others cold, but those are the strongest which are equally fit to endure either; so the vigour and firmness of those minds are the greatest which are neither elated by prosperity, nor broken by adversity. And in this respect, Æmilius appears to have been superior; for, in the great and severe misfortune of the loss of his sons, he kept up the same dignity of carriage as in the midst of the happiest success. But Timoleon, when he had acted as a patriot should, with regard to his brother, did not let his reason support him against his grief; but becoming a prey to sorrow and remorse, for the space of twenty years he could not so much as look upon the place where the public business was transacted, much less take a part in it. A man should, indeed, be afraid and ashamed of what is really shameful; but to shrink under every reflection upon his character, though it speaks a delicacy of temper, has nothing in it of true greatness of mind.



## PELOPIDAS.

CATO the elder, hearing somebody commend a man who was rashly and indiscreetly daring in war, made this just observation, that *there was great difference between a due regard to valour and a contempt of life.* To this purpose, there is a story of one of the soldiers of Antigonus, who was astonishingly brave, but of an unhealthy complexion and bad habit of body. The king asked him the cause of his paleness, and he acknowledged that he had a private infirmity. He therefore gave his physicians a strict charge, that if any remedy could be found, they should apply it with the utmost care. Thus the man was cured; but then he no longer courted, nor risked his person as before. Antigonus questioned him about it, and could not forbear to express his wonder at the change. The soldier did not conceal the real cause, "You, Sir," said he, "have made me less bold, by delivering me from that misery, which made my life of no account to me." From the same way of arguing it was, that a certain Sybarite said of the Spartans, "It was no wonder if they ventured their lives freely in battle, since death was a deliverance to them from such a train of labours, and from such wretched diet." It was natural for the Sybarites,\* who were dissolved in luxury and pleasure, to think that they who despised death, did it not from a love of virtue and honour, but because they were weary of life. But in

\* The Sybarites were a colony of Greeks, who settled in ancient times on the gulf of Tarentum. The felicity of their situation, their wealth and power drew them into luxury, which was remarkable to a proverb. But one cannot credit the extravagant things which Athenæus relates of them. Their chief city, which at first was called Sybaris, from a river of that name, was afterwards named Thurium, or Thurii.



fact, the Lacedæmonians thought it a pleasure either to live or to die, as virtue and right reason directed ; and so this epitaph testifies :

Nor life, nor death, they deem'd the happier state ;  
But life that's glorious, or a death that's great.

For neither is the avoiding of death to be found fault with, if a man is not dishonourably fond of life ; nor is the meeting it with courage to be commended, if he is disgusted with life. Hence it is, that Homer leads out the boldest and bravest of his warriors to battle always well armed : and the Grecian law-givers punish him who throws away his shield, not him who loses his sword or spear ; thus instructing us, that the first care of every man, especially of every governor of a city, or commander of an army, should be, to defend himself, and after that, he is to think of annoying the enemy. For if, according to the comparison made by Iphicrates, the light-armed resemble the hands, the cavalry the feet, the main-body of infantry the breast, and the general the head ; then that general who suffers himself to be carried away by his impetuosity, so as to expose himself to needless hazards, not only endangers his own life, but the lives of his whole army, whose safety depends upon his. Callicratidas, therefore, though otherwise a great man, did not answer the soothsayer well, who desired him not to expose himself to danger, because the entrails of the victim threatened his life. "Sparta," said he, "is not bound up in one man." For in battle, he was indeed but one, when acting under the orders of another, whether at sea or land ; but when he had the command, he virtually comprehended the whole force in himself ; so that he was no longer a single person, when such numbers must perish with him. Much better was the saying of old Antigonus, when he was going to engage in a sea-fight near the isle of Andros. Somebody observed to him that the enemy's



fleet was much larger than his: "For how many ships then dost thou reckon me?" He represented the importance of the commander great, as in fact it is, when he is a man of experience and valour; and the first duty of such a one is to preserve him who preserves the whole.

On the same account we must allow that Timotheus expressed himself happily, when Chares showed the Athenians the wounds he had received, when their general, and his shield pierced with a spear: "I, for my part," said he, "was much ashamed when, at the siege of Samos, a javelin fell near me, as if I had behaved too like a young man, and not as became the commander of so great an armament." For where the scale of the whole action turns upon the general's risking his own person, there he is to stand the combat, and to brave the greatest danger, without regarding those who say, that a good general should die of old age, or, at least, an old man: but when the advantage to be reaped from his personal bravery is but small, and all is lost in case of a miscarriage, no one then expects that the general should be endangered, by exerting too much of the soldier.

Thus much I thought proper to premise before the lives of Pelopidas and Marcellus, who were both great men, and both perished by their rashness. Both were excellent soldiers, did honour to their country by the greatest exploits, and had the most formidable adversaries to deal with; for the one defeated Hannibal, until that time invincible, and the other conquered the Lacedæmonians, who were masters both by sea and land; and yet at last they both threw away their lives, and spilt their blood without any sort of discretion, when the times most required such men and such generals. From this resemblance between them, we have drawn their parallel.

Pelopidas, the son of Hippoclus, was of an illustrious family in Thebes, as was also Epaminondas. Brought up in affluence, and coming in his youth to



a great estate, he applied himself to relieve such necessitous persons as deserved his bounty, to show that he was really master of his riches, not their slave. For the greatest part of men, as Aristotle says, either through covetousness make no use of their wealth, or else abuse it through prodigality; and these live perpetual slaves to their pleasures, as those do to care and toil. The Thebans with grateful hearts enjoyed the liberality and munificence of Pelopidas. Epaminondas alone could not be persuaded to share in it. Pelopidas, however, partook in the poverty of his friend, glorying in a plainness of dress and slenderness of diet, indefatigable in labour, and plain and open in his conduct in the highest posts. In short, he was like Capaneus in Euripides,

—Whose opulence was great,  
And yet his heart was not elated.

He looked upon it as a disgrace to expend more upon his own person than the poorest Theban. As for Epaminondas, poverty was his inheritance, and consequently familiar to him, but he made it still more light and easy by philosophy and by the uniform simplicity of his life.

Pelopidas married into a noble family, and had several children, but setting no greater value upon money than before, and devoting all his time to the concerns of the commonwealth, he impaired his substance. And when his friends admonished him, that *money which he neglected was a very necessary thing*: *It is necessary indeed*, said he, *for Nicodemus there*, pointing to a man that was both lame and blind.

Epaminondas and he were both equally inclined to every virtue, but Pelopidas delighted more in the exercises of the body, and Epaminondas in the improvement of the mind; and the one diverted himself in the wrestling-ring or in hunting, while the other spent his hours of leisure in hearing or reading some-



thing in philosophy. Among the many things that reflected glory upon both, there was nothing which men of sense so much admired as that strict and inviolable friendship which subsisted between them from first to last, in all the high posts which they held, both military and civil. For if we consider the administration of Aristides and Themistocles, of Cimon and Pericles, of Nicias and Alcibiades, how much the common concern was injured by their dissension, their envy and jealousy of each other; and then cast our eyes upon the mutual kindness and esteem which Pelopidas and Epaminondas inviolably preserved, we may justly call these colleagues in civil government and military command, and not those whose study it was to get the better of each other rather than of the enemy. The true cause of the difference was the virtue of these Thebans, which led them not to seek, in any of their measures, their own honour and wealth, the pursuit of which is always attended with envy and strife; but being both inspired from the first with a divine ardour to raise their country to the summit of glory, for this purpose they availed themselves of the achievements of each other, as if they had been their own.

But many are of opinion, that their extraordinary friendship took its rise from the campaign which they made at Mantinea,\* among the succours which the Thebans had sent the Lacedæmonians, who as yet were their allies. For being placed together among the heavy-armed infantry, and fighting with the Arcadians, that wing of the Lacedæmonians in which they were gave way and was broken; whereupon Pelopidas and Epaminondas locked their shields together, and repulsed all that attacked them, till at

\* We must take care not to confound this with the famous battle at Mantinea, in which Epaminondas was slain. For that battle was fought against the Lacedæmonians, and this for them. The action here spoken of was probably about the third year of the ninety-eighth olympiad.



last Pelopidas, having received seven large wounds, fell upon a heap of friends and enemies who lay dead together. Epaminondas, though he thought there was no life left in him, yet stood forward to defend his body and his arms, and being determined to die rather than leave his companion in the power of his enemies, he engaged with numbers at once. He was now in extreme danger, being wounded in the breast with a spear, and in the arm with a sword, when Agesipolis, king of the Lacedæmonians, brought succours from the other wing, and, beyond all expectation, delivered them both.

After this, the Spartans, in appearance, treated the Thebans as friends and allies,\* but, in reality, they were suspicious of their spirit and power; particularly they hated the party of Ismenias and Androclides, in which Pelopidas was, as attached to liberty and a popular government. Therefore Archias, Leontidas, and Philip, men inclined to an oligarchy, and rich withal, and ambitious, persuaded Phœbidas, the Lacedæmonian, who was marching by Thebes with a body of troops,† to seize the castle called Cadmea, to drive the opposite party out of the city, and to put the administration into the hands of the nobility, subject to the inspection of the Lacedæ-

\* During the whole Peloponnesian war, Sparta found a very faithful ally in the Thebans: and under the countenance of Sparta, the Thebans recovered the government of Bœotia, of which they had been deprived on account of their defection to the Persians. However, at length they grew so powerful and headstrong, that when the peace of Antalcidas came to be subscribed to, they refused to come into it, and were with no small difficulty overawed and forced into it by the confederates. We learn, indeed, from Polybius, that though the Lacedæmonians, at that peace, declared all the Grecian cities free, they did not withdraw their garrison from any one of them.

† Phœbidas was marching against Olynthus, when Leontidas, or Leontiades, one of the two polemarchs, betrayed to him the town and citadel of Thebes. This happened in the third year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad, three hundred and seventy-four years before the Christian æra.



monians. Phœbidas listened to the proposal, and coming upon the Thebans unexpectedly, during the feast of the *Thesmophoria*,\* he made himself master of the citadel, and seized Ismenias, and carried him to Lacedæmon, where he was put to death soon after. Pelopidas, Pherenicus, and Androclides, with many others that fled, were sentenced to banishment. But Epaminondas remained upon the spot, being despised for his philosophy, as a man who would not intermeddle with affairs, and for his poverty, as a man of no power.

Though the Lacedæmonians took the command of the army from Phœbidas, and fined him in a hundred thousand drachmas, yet they kept a garrison in the Cadmea notwithstanding. All the rest of Greece was surprised at this absurdity of theirs, in punishing the actor, and yet authorizing the action. As for the Thebans, who had lost their ancient form of government, and were brought into subjection by Archias and Leontidas, there was no room for them to hope to be delivered from the tyranny, which was supported in such a manner by the power of the Spartans that it could not be pulled down, unless those Spartans could be deprived of their dominion both by sea and land.

Nevertheless, Leontidas having got intelligence that the exiles were at Athens, and that they were treated there with great regard by the people, and no less respected by the nobility, formed secret designs against their lives. For this purpose he employed certain unknown assassins, who took off Androclides; but all the rest escaped. Letters were also sent to the Athenians from Sparta, insisting that they should not harbour or encourage exiles, but drive them out as persons declared by the confederates to be common enemies; but the Athenians, agreeable to their usual and natural humanity, as

\* The women were celebrating this feast in the Cadmea.



well as in gratitude to the city of Thebes, would not suffer the least injury to be done to the exiles. For the Thebans had greatly assisted in restoring the democracy at Athens, having made a decree that if any Athenian should march armed through Bœotia against the tyrants, he should not meet with the least hindrance or molestation in that country.

Pelopidas, though he was one of the youngest,\* applied to each exile in particular, as well as harangued them in a body; urging, "That it was both dishonourable and impious to leave their native city enslaved and garrisoned by an enemy; and, meanly contented with their own lives and safety, to wait for the decrees of the Athenians, and to make their court to the popular orators; but that they ought to run every hazard in so glorious a cause, imitating the courage and patriotism of Thrasybulus; for as he advanced from Thebes to crush the tyrants in Athens, so should they march from Athens to deliver Thebes.

Thus persuaded to accept his proposal, they sent privately to their friends who were left behind in Thebes, to acquaint them with their resolution, which was highly approved of; and Charon, a person of the first rank, offered his house for their reception. Philidas found means to be appointed secretary to Archias and Philip, who were then *Polemarchs*; and as for Epaminondas, he had taken pains all along to inspire the youth with sentiments of bravery. For he desired them in the public exercises to try the Lacedæmonians at wrestling, and when he saw them elated with success, he used to tell them, by way of reproof, "That they should

\* Xenophon, in the account which he gives of this transaction, does not so much as mention Pelopidas. His silence in this respect was probably owing to his partiality to his hero Agesilaus, whose glory he might think would be eclipsed by that of Pelopidas and his worthy colleague Epaminondas: for of the latter, too, he speaks very sparingly.



rather be ashamed of their meanness of spirit in remaining subject to those to whom, in strength, they were so much superior."

A day being fixed for putting their design in execution, it was agreed among the exiles, that Phere-nicus with the rest should stay at Thriasium, while a few of the youngest should attempt to get entrance first into the city; and that if these happened to be surprised by the enemy, the others should take care to provide for their children and their parents. Pelopidas was the first that offered to be of this party, and then Melon, Democlide, and Theopompus, all men of noble blood, who were united to each other by the most faithful friendship, and who never had any contest but which should be foremost in the race of glory and valour. These adventurers, who were twelve in number, having embraced those that stayed behind, and sent a messenger before them to Charon, set out in their under garments, with dogs and hunting poles, that none who met them might have any suspicion of what they were about, and that they might seem to be only hunters beating about for game.

When their messenger came to Charon, and acquainted him that they were on their way to Thebes, the near approach of danger changed not his resolution: he behaved like a man of honour, and made preparations to receive them. Hipposthenidas, who was also in the secret, was not by any means an ill man, but rather a friend to his country and to the exiles; yet he wanted that firmness which the present emergency and the hazardous point of execution required. He grew giddy, as it were, at the thought of the great danger they were about to plunge in, and at last opened his eyes enough to see, that they were attempting to shake the Lacedæmonian government, and to free themselves from that power without any other dependance than that of a few indigent persons and exiles. He therefore went to his



own house without saying a word, and despatched one of his friends to Melon and Pelopidas, to desire them to defer their enterprise for the present, to return to Athens, and to wait till a more favourable opportunity offered.

Chlidon, for that was the name of the man sent upon this business, went home in all haste, took his horse out of the stable, and called for the bridle. His wife being at a loss, and not able to find it, said she had lent it to a neighbour. Upon this, words arose, and mutual reproaches followed; the woman venting bitter imprecations, and wishing that the journey might be fatal both to him and those that sent him. So that Chlidon, having spent great part of the day in this squabble, and looking upon what had happened as ominous, laid aside all thoughts of the journey, and went elsewhere. So near was this great and glorious undertaking to being disconcerted at the very entrance.

Pelopidas and his company, now in the dress of peasants, divided, and entered the town at different quarters, whilst it was yet day. And, as the cold weather was setting in,\* there happened to be a sharp wind and a shower of snow, which concealed them the better, most people retiring into their houses, to avoid the inclemency of the weather. But those that were concerned in the affair, received them as they came, and conducted them immediately to Charon's house; the exiles and others making up the number of forty-eight.

As for the affairs of the tyrants, they stood thus: Philidas, their secretary, knew (as we said) the whole design of the exiles, and omitted nothing that might contribute to its success. He had invited Archias and Philip some time before, to an enter-

\* The Spartans seized on the Cadmea about the middle of summer, in the year already mentioned, and it was taken from them in the beginning of winter, in the first year of the hundredth olympiad.



tainment at his house on that day, and promised to introduce to them some women, in order that those who were to attack them, might find them dissolved in wine and pleasure. They had not yet drank very freely, when a report reached them, which, though not false, seemed uncertain and obscure, that the exiles were concealed somewhere in the city. And though Philidas endeavoured to turn the discourse, Archias sent an officer to Charon, to command his immediate attendance. By this time it was grown dark, and Pelopidas and his companions were preparing for action, having already put on their breastplates and girt their swords, when suddenly there was a knocking at the door; whereupon one ran to it, and asked what the person's business was, and having learned from the officer that he was sent by the Polemarchs to fetch Charon, he brought in the news in great confusion. They were unanimous in their opinion, that the affair was discovered, and that every man of them was lost, before they had performed any thing which became their valour. Nevertheless, they thought it proper that Charon should obey the order, and go boldly to the tyrants. Charon was a man of great intrepidity and courage in dangers that threatened only himself, but then he was much affected on account of his friends, and afraid that he should lie under some suspicion of treachery, if so many brave citizens should perish. Therefore, as he was ready to depart, he took his son, who was yet a child, but of a beauty and strength beyond those of his years, out of the women's apartment, and put him in the hands of Pelopidas, desiring, "That if he found him a traitor, he would treat that child as an enemy, and not spare its life." Many of them shed tears, when they saw the concern and magnanimity of Charon; and all expressed their uneasiness at his thinking any of them so dastardly and so much disconcerted with the



present danger, as to be capable of suspecting or blaming him in the least. They begged of him, therefore, not to leave his son with them, but to remove him out of the reach of what might possibly happen, to some place where, safe from the tyrants, he might be brought up to be an avenger of his country and his friends. But Charon refused to remove him, "For what life," said he, "or what deliverance could I wish him that would be more glorious than his falling honourably with his father and so many of his friends?" Then he addressed himself in prayer to the gods, and having embraced and encouraged them all, he went out; endeavouring by the way to compose himself, to form his countenance, and to assume a tone of voice very different from the real state of his mind.

When he was come to the door of the house, Archias and Philidas went out to him and said, "What persons are these, Charon, who, as we are informed, are lately come into the town, and are concealed and countenanced by some of the citizens?" Charon was a little fluttered at first, but soon recovering himself, he asked, "Who these persons they spoke of were, and by whom harboured?" And finding that Archias had no clear account of the matter, concluded from thence that his information came not from any person that was privy to the design, and therefore said, "Take care that you do not disturb yourselves with vain rumours. However, I will make the best inquiry I can; for, perhaps, nothing of this kind ought to be disregarded." Philidas, who was by, commended his prudence, and conducting Archias in again, plied him strongly with liquor, and prolonged the carousal by keeping up their expectation of the women.

When Charon was returned home, he found his friends prepared, not to conquer or to preserve their lives, but to sell them dear, and to fall gloriously. He told Pelopidas the truth, but concealed it from



the rest, pretending that Archias had discoursed with him about other matters.\*

The first storm was scarce blown over when fortune raised a second. For there arrived an express from Athens with a letter from Archias, high priest there, to Archias his namesake and particular friend, not filled with vain and groundless surmises, but containing a clear narrative of the whole affair, as was found afterwards. The messenger being admitted to Archias, now almost intoxicated, as he delivered the letter, said, "The person who sent this, desired that it might be read immediately, for it contains business of great importance." But Archias receiving it, said, smiling, *Business to-morrow*. Then he put it under the bolster of his couch, and resumed the conversation with Philidas. This saying, *business to-morrow*, passed into a proverb, and continues so among the Greeks to this day.

A good opportunity now offering for the execution of their purpose, the friends of liberty divided themselves into two bodies, and sallied out. Pelopidas and Democlidias went against Leontidas and Hypates,† who were neighbours, and Charon and Melon against Archias and Philip. Charon and his company put women's clothes over their armour, and wore thick wreaths of pine and poplar upon their heads to shadow their faces. As soon as they came to the door of the room where the guests were, the company shouted and clapped their hands, believing them to be the women whom they had so long expected. When the pretended women had looked round the room, and distinctly surveyed all the guests, they drew their swords; and making at

\* There appears no necessity for this artifice; and indeed Plutarch, in his treatise concerning the genius of Socrates, says, that Charon came back to the little band of patriots with a pleasant countenance, and gave them all an account of what had passed, without the least disguise.

† These were not invited to the entertainment, because Archias expecting to meet a woman of great distinction, did not choose that Leontidas should be there.



Archias and Philip across the table, they showed who they were. A small part of the company were persuaded by Philidas not to intermeddle: the rest engaged in the combat, and stood up for the *Polemarchs*, but, being disordered with wine, were easily despatched.

Pelopidas and his party had a more difficult affair of it. They had to do with Leontidas, a sober and valiant man. They found the door made fast, for he was gone to bed, and they knocked a long time before any body heard. At last a servant perceived it, and came down and removed the bar; which he had no sooner done, than they pushed open the door, and rushing in, threw the man down, and ran to the bedchamber. Leontidas, conjecturing by the noise and trampling what the matter was, leaped from his bed and seized his sword; but he forgot to put out the lamps, which, had he done, it would have left them to fall foul on each other in the dark. Being, therefore, fully exposed to view, he met them at the door, and with one stroke laid Cephisodorus, who was the first man that attempted to enter, dead at his feet. He encountered Pelopidas next, and the narrowness of the door, together with the dead body of Cephisodorus lying in the way, made the dispute long and doubtful. At last Pelopidas prevailed, and having slain Leontidas, he marched immediately with his little band against Hypates. They got into his house in the same manner as they did into the other: but he quickly perceived them, made his escape into a neighbour's house, whither they followed, and despatched him.

This affair being over, they joined Melon, and sent for the exiles they had left in Attica. They proclaimed liberty to all the Thebans,\* and armed such as came over to them, taking down the spoils that were suspended upon the porticoes, and the

\* Pelopidas also sent Philidas to all the gaols in the city, to release those brave Thebans whom the tyrannic Spartans kept in fetters.



arms out of the shops of the armourers and sword-cutlers. Epaminondas\* and Gorgidas came to their assistance, with a considerable body of young men and a select number of the old, whom they had collected and armed.

The whole city was now in great terror and confusion; the houses were filled with lights, and the streets with men, running to and fro. The people, however, did not yet assemble; but being astonished at what had happened, and knowing nothing with certainty, they waited with impatience for the day. It seems, therefore, to have been a great error in the Spartan officers, that they did not immediately sally out and fall upon them; for their garrison consisted of fifteen hundred men, and they were joined besides by many people from the city. But terrified at the shouts, the lights, the hurry, and confusion that were on every side, they contented themselves with preserving the citadel.

As soon as it was day, the exiles from Attica came in armed; the people complied with the summons to assemble; and Epaminondas and Gorgidas presented to them Pelopidas and his party, surrounded by the priests, who carried garlands in their hands, and called upon the citizens to exert themselves for their gods and their country. Excited by this appearance, the whole assembly stood up, and received them with great acclamations as their benefactors and deliverers.

Pelopidas, then elected governor of Bœotia, together with Melon and Charon, immediately blocked up and attacked the citadel, hastening to drive out the Lacedæmonians, and to recover the *Cadmea*,† be-

\* Epaminondas did not join them sooner, because he was afraid that too much innocent blood would be shed with the guilty.

† As it is not probable that the regaining so strong a place should be the work of a day, or have been effected with so small a force as Pelopidas then had, we must have recourse to Diodorus Siculus and Xenophon, who tell us, that the Athenians, early on the next



fore succours could arrive from Sparta. And indeed he was but a little beforehand with them; for they had but just surrendered the place, and were returning home, according to capitulation, when they met Cleombrotus at Magara, marching towards Thebes with a great army. The Spartans called to account the three *Harmostea*, officers who had commanded in the *Cadmea*, and signed the capitulation. Hermippidas and Arcissus were executed for it, and the third, named Dysaoridas, was so severely fined, that he was forced to quit Peloponnesus.\*

This action of Pelopidas† was called, by the Greeks, sister to that of Thrasybulus, on account of their near resemblance, not only in respect of the great virtues of the men, and the difficulties they had to combat, but the success with which fortune crowned them. For it is not easy to find another instance so remarkable, of the few overcoming the many, and the weak the strong, merely by dint of courage and conduct, and procuring by these means, such great advantages to their country. But the change of affairs which followed upon this action rendered it still more glorious. For the war which humbled the pride of the Spartans, and deprived them of their empire both by sea and land, took its rise from that night, when Pelopidas, without taking town or castle, but being only one out of twelve who entered a private house, loosened and broke to pieces (if we may express truth by a metaphor) the chains

morning, after the seizing on the city, sent the Theban general five thousand foot and two thousand horse; and that several other bodies of troops came in from the cities of Bœotia, to the number of about seven thousand more; that Pelopidas besieged the place in form with them, and that it held out several days, and surrendered at length for want of provisions. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xv. XENOPH. l. v.

\* It was a maxim with the Spartans, to die sword in hand, in defence of a place committed to their care.

† M. Dacier gives a parallel between the conduct of this action, and that of the prince of Monaco, in driving a Spanish garrison out of his town.



of the Spartan government, until then esteemed indissoluble.

The Lacedæmonians soon entering Bœotia with a powerful army, the Athenians were struck with terror; and renouncing their alliance with the Thebans, they took cognizance, in a judicial way, of all that continued in the interest of that people: some they put to death, some they banished, and upon others they laid heavy fines. The Thebans being thus deserted by their allies, their affairs seemed to be in a desperate situation. But Pelopidas and Gorgidas, who then had the command in Bœotia, sought means to embroil the Athenians again with the Spartans; and they availed themselves of this stratagem. There was a Spartan named Sphodrias, a man of great reputation as a soldier, but of no sound judgment, sanguine in his hopes, and indiscreet in his ambition. This man was left with some troops at Thespiæ, to receive and protect such of the Bœotians as might come over to the Spartans. To him Pelopidas privately sent a merchant in whom he could confide,\* well provided with money, and with proposals that were more likely to prevail than the money: "That it became him to undertake some noble enterprise—to surprise the Piræus, for instance, by falling suddenly upon the Athenians, who were not provided to receive him: for that nothing could be so agreeable to the Spartans, as to be masters of Athens; and that the Thebans, now incensed against the Athenians, and considering them as traitors, would lend them no manner of assistance."

Sphodrias, suffering himself at last to be persuaded, marched into Attica by night, and advanced as far as Eleusis.† There the hearts of his soldiers began to fail, and finding his design discovered, he

\* This is more probable than what Diodorus Siculus says; namely, that Cleombrotus, without any order from the *Ephori*, persuaded Sphodrias to surprise the Piræus.

† They hoped to have reached the Piræus in the night, but found, when the day appeared, that they were got no farther than Eleusis.



returned to Thespiæ, after he had thus brought upon the Lacedæmonians a long and dangerous war. For upon this the Athenians readily united with the Thebans; and having fitted out a large fleet, they sailed round Greece, engaging and receiving such as were inclined to shake off the Spartan yoke.

Meantime the Thebans, by themselves, frequently came to action with the Lacedæmonians in Bœotia, not in set battles, indeed, but in such as were of considerable service and improvement to them; for their spirits were raised, their bodies inured to labour, and, by being used to these rencounters, they gained both experience and courage. Hence it was, that Antalcidas the Spartan said to Agesilaus, when he returned from Bœotia wounded, *Truly you are well paid for the instruction you have given the Thebans, and for teaching them the art of war against their will.* Though, to speak properly, Agesilaus was not their instructor, but those prudent generals who made choice of fit opportunities to let loose the Thebans, like so many young hounds, upon the enemy; and when they had tasted of victory, satisfied with the ardour they had shown, brought them off again safe. The chief honour of this was due to Pelopidas. For from the time of his being first chosen general, until his death, there was not a year that he was out of employment, but he was constantly either captain of the sacred band, or governor of Bœotia. And while he was employed, the Lacedæmonians were several times defeated by the Thebans, particularly at Plataæ, and at Thespiæ, where Phœbidas, who had surprised the *Cadmea*, was killed; and at Tanagra, where Pelopidas beat a considerable body, and slew, with his own hand, their general Panthoides.

But these combats, though they served to animate

Sphodrias, perceiving that he was discovered, in his return, plundered the Athenian territories. The Lacedæmonians recalled Sphodrias, and the *Ephori* proceeded against him; but Agesilaus, influenced by his son, who was a friend of the son of Sphodrias, brought him off.



and encourage the victors, did not quite dishearten the vanquished. For they were not pitched battles, nor regular engagements, but rather advantages gained of the enemy, by well-timed skirmishes, in which the Thebans sometimes pursued, and sometimes retreated.

But the battle of Tegyræ, which was a sort of prelude to that of Leuctra, lifted the character of Pelopidas very high; for none of the other commanders could lay claim to any share of the honour of the day, nor had the enemy any pretext to cover the shame of their defeat.

He kept a strict eye upon the city of Orchomenus,\* which had adopted the Spartan interest, and received two companies of foot for its defence, and watched for an opportunity to make himself master of it. Being informed that the garrison were gone upon an expedition into Locris, he hoped to take the town with ease, now it was destitute of soldiers, and therefore hastened thither with the *sacred band*, and a small party of horse. But finding, when he was near the town, that other troops were coming from Sparta to supply the place of those that were marched out, he led his forces back again by Tegyræ, along the sides of the mountains, which was the only way he could pass: for all the flat country was overflowed by the river Melas, which, from its very source, spreading itself into marshes, and navigable pieces of water, made the lower roads impracticable.

A little below these marshes, stands the temple of Apollo *Tegyræus*, whose oracle there has not been long silent. It flourished most in the Persian wars, while Echerates was high-priest. Here they report that Apollo was born; and at the foot of the neighbouring mountain called Delos, the Melas returns into its channel. Behind the temple rise two copious

\* This was one of the largest and most considerable towns in Bœotia, and still garrisoned by the Lacedæmonians.



springs, whose waters are admirable for their coolness and agreeable taste. The one is called *Palm*, and the other *Olive*, to this day; so that Latona seems to have been delivered, not between two trees, but two fountains of that name. Ptoum too, is just by, from whence, it is said, a boar suddenly rushed out and frightened her; and the stories of Python and Tityus, the scene of which lies here, agree with their opinion who say, Apollo was born in this place. The other proofs of this matter I omit. For tradition does not reckon this deity among those who were born mortal, and afterwards were changed into demigods; of which number were Hercules and Bacchus, who by their virtues were raised from a frail and perishable being to immortality: but he is one of those eternal deities who were never born, if we may give credit to those ancient sages that have treated of these high points.

The Thebans then retreating from Orchomenus towards Tegyræ, the Lacedæmonians who were returning from Locris met them on the road. As soon as they were perceived to be passing the straits, one ran and told Pelopidas, *We are fallen into the enemy's hands. And why not they*, said he, *into ours?* At the same time he ordered the cavalry to advance from the rear to the front, that they might be ready for the attack; and the infantry, who were but three hundred,\* he drew up in a close body; hoping that, wherever they charged, they would break through the enemy, though superior in numbers.

\* This small body was, however, the very flower of the Theban army, and was dignified by the names of the *sacred battalion* and the *band of lovers* (as mentioned below,) being equally famed for their fidelity to the Theban state, and affection for each other. Some fabulous things are related of them, from which we can only infer, that they were a brave resolute set of young men, who had vowed perpetual friendship to each other, and had bound themselves, by the strongest ties, to stand by one another to the last drop of their blood; and were therefore the fittest to be employed in such private and dangerous expeditions.



The Spartans had two battalions. Ephorus says, their battalion consisted of five hundred men, but Callisthenes makes it seven hundred, and Polybius and others nine hundred. Their *Polemarchs*, Gorgoleon and Theopompus, pushed boldly on against the Thebans. The shock began in the quarter where the generals fought in person on both sides, and was very violent and furious. The Spartan commanders, who attacked Pelopidas, were among the first that were slain ; and all that were near them being either killed or put to flight, the whole army was so terrified, that they opened a lane for the Thebans, through which they might have passed safely, and continued their route if they had pleased. But Pelopidas disdainng to make his escape so, charged those who yet stood their ground, and made such havoc among them, that they fled in great confusion. The pursuit was not continued very far, for the Thebans were afraid of the Orchomenians who were near the place of battle, and of the forces just arrived from Lacedæmon. They were satisfied with beating them in fair combat, and making their retreat through a dispersed and defeated army.

Having, therefore, erected a trophy, and gathered the spoils of the slain, they returned home not a little elated. For it seems that in all their former wars, both with the Greeks and barbarians, the Lacedæmonians had never been beaten, the greater number by the less, nor even by equal numbers, in a pitched battle. Thus their courage seemed irresistible, and their renown so much intimidated their adversaries, that they did not care to hazard an engagement with them on equal terms. This battle first taught the Greeks, that it is not the Eurotas, nor the space between Babyce and Cnacion, which alone produces brave warriors, but wherever the youth are ashamed of what is base, resolute in a good cause, and more inclined to avoid disgrace than danger, there are the men who are terrible to their enemies.



Gorgidas as some say, first formed the *sacred band*, consisting of three hundred select men, who were quartered in the *Cadmea*, and maintained and exercised at the public expense. They were called the *city band*, for citadels in those days were called cities.

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But Gorgidas, by disposing those that belonged to this sacred band here and there in the first ranks, and covering the front of his infantry with them, gave them but little opportunity to distinguish themselves, or effectually to serve the common cause; thus divided as they were, and mixed with other troops more in number and of inferior resolution. But when their valour appeared with so much lustre at Tegyræ, where they fought together, and close to the person of their general, Pelopidas would never part them afterwards, but kept them in a body, and constantly charged at the head of them in the most dangerous attack. For as horses go faster when harnessed together in a chariot, than they do when driven single, not because their united force more easily breaks the air, but because their spirits are raised higher by emulation; so he thought the courage of brave men would be most irresistible, when they were acting together and contending with each other which should most excel.

But when the Lacedæmonians had made peace with the rest of the Greeks, and continued the war against the Thebans only, and when king Cleombrotus had entered their country with ten thousand foot and a thousand horse, they were not only threatened with the common dangers of war, as before, but even with total extirpation; which spread the utmost terror over all Bœotia. As Pelopidas, on this occasion, was departing for the army, his wife, who followed him to the door, besought him, with tears, to take care of himself, he answered, *My*



*dear, private persons are to be advised to take care of themselves, but persons in a public character to take care of others.*

When he came to the army, and found the general officers differing in opinion, he was the first to close in with that of Epaminondas, who proposed that they should give the enemy battle. He was not, indeed, then one of those that commanded in chief, but he was captain of the *sacred band*; and they had that confidence in him, which was due to a man who had given his country such pledges of his regard for liberty.

The resolution thus taken to hazard a battle, and the two armies in sight at Leuctra, Pelopidas had a dream which gave him no small trouble. In that field lie the bodies of the daughters of Scedasus, who are called *Leuctridæ* from the place. For a rape having been committed upon them by some Spartans whom they had hospitably received into their house, they had killed themselves, and were buried there. Upon this, their father went to Lacedæmon, and demanded that justice should be done upon the persons who had committed so detestable and atrocious a crime; and, as he could not obtain it, he vented bitter imprecations against the Spartans, and then killed himself upon the tomb of his daughters. From that time many prophecies and oracles forewarned the Spartans to beware of the vengeance of Leuctra: The true intent of which but few understood; for they were in doubt as to the place that was meant, there being a little maritime town called Leuctrum, in Laconia, and another of the same name near Megalopolis in Arcadia. Besides, that injury was done to the daughters of Scedasus long before the battle of Leuctra.

Pelopidas, then, as he slept in his tent, thought he saw these young women weeping at their tombs, and loading the Spartans with imprecations, while their father ordered him to sacrifice a red-haired young virgin to the damsels, if he desired to be victorious



in the ensuing engagement. This order appearing to him cruel and unjust, he rose and communicated it to the soothsayers and the generals. Some were of opinion, that it should not be neglected or disobeyed, alleging to the purpose the ancient stories of Menœceus the son of Creon,\* and Macaria the daughter of Hercules; and the more modern instances of Pherecydes the philosopher, who was put to death by the Lacedæmonians, and whose skin was preserved by their kings, pursuant to the direction of some oracle; of Leonidas, who, by order of the oracle too, sacrificed himself, as it were, for the sake of Greece; and lastly, of the human victims offered by Themistocles to Bacchus-Orestes, before the sea-fight at Salamis: to all which sacrifices the ensuing success gave a sanction. They observed also, that Agesilaus setting sail from the same place that Agamemnon did, and against the same enemies, and seeing moreover, at Aulis, the same vision of the goddess† demanding his daughter in sacrifice, through an ill-timed tenderness for his child refused it; the consequence of which was, that his expedition proved unsuccessful.

Those that were of the contrary opinion, argued, that so barbarous and unjust an offering could not possibly be acceptable to any superior being; that no *Typhons* or giants, but the father of gods and men, governed the world: that it was absurd to suppose

\* Menœceus devoted himself to death for the benefit of his country; as did also Macaria for the benefit of the Heraclidæ. For an account of the former, see the *Phænissa*, and for the latter, the *Heraclidæ* of Euripides.

† Xenophon, in the seventh book of his Grecian history, acquaints us, that Pelopidas, when he went upon an embassy to the king of Persia, represented to him, that the hatred which the Lacedæmonians bore the Thebans, was owing to their not following Agesilaus when he went to make war upon Persia, and to their hindering him from sacrificing his daughter at Aulis when Diana demanded her; a compliance with which demand would have insured his success; such, at least, was the doctrine of the heathen theology.



that the gods delighted in human sacrifices ; and, that if any of them did, they ought to be disregarded as impotent beings, since such strange and corrupt desires could not exist but in weak and vicious minds.

While the principal officers were engaged on this subject, and Pelopidas was more perplexed than all the rest, on a sudden a she-colt quitted the herd, and ran through the camp ; and when she came to the place where they were assembled, she stood still. The officers, for their part, only admired her colour, which was a shining red, the stateliness of her form, the vigour of her motions, and the sprightliness of her neighings ; but Theocritus the diviner, understanding the thing better, cried out to Pelopidas, "Here comes the victim, fortunate man that thou art ! wait for no other virgin, but sacrifice that which heaven hath sent thee." They then took the colt, and led her to the tomb of the virgins, where, after the usual prayers and the ceremony of crowning her, they offered her up with joy, not forgetting to publish the vision of Pelopidas, and the sacrifice required, to the whole army.

The day of battle being come, Epaminondas drew up the infantry of his left wing in an oblique form, that the right wing of the Spartans being obliged to divide from the other Greeks, he might fall with all his force upon Cleombrotus who commanded them, and break them with the greater ease. But the enemy, perceiving his intention, began to change their order of battle, and to extend their right wing and wheel about, with a design to surround Epaminondas. In the meantime, Pelopidas came briskly up with his band of three hundred ; and before Cleombrotus could extend his wing as he desired, or reduce it to its former disposition, fell upon the Spartans, disordered as they were with the imperfect movement. And though the Spartans, who were excellent masters in the art of war, laboured no point so much as to keep their men from confusion and



from dispersing when their ranks happened to be broken ; insomuch that the private men were as able as the officers to knit again and to make an united effort, wherever any occasion of danger required : yet Epaminondas then attacking their right wing only, without stopping to contend with the other troops, and Pelopidas rushing upon them with incredible speed and bravery, broke their resolution and baffled their art. The consequence was such a rout and slaughter as had never been known before.\* For this reason, Pelopidas, who had no share in the chief command, but was only captain of a small band, gained as much honour by this day's great success as Epaminondas, who was governor of Bœotia and commander of the whole army.

But soon after, they were appointed joint governors of Bœotia, and entered Peloponnesus together, where they caused several cities to revolt from the Lacedæmonians, and brought over to the Theban interest Elis, Argos, all Arcadia, and great part of Laconia itself. It was now the winter solstice, and the latter end of the last month in the year, so that they could hold their office but a few days longer : for new governors were to succeed on the first day of the next month, and the old ones to deliver up their charge under pain of death.

\* The Theban army consisted, at most, but of six thousand men, whereas that of the enemy was, at least, thrice that number, reckoning the allies. But Epaminondas trusted most in his cavalry, wherein he had much the advantage, both in their quality and good management ; the rest he endeavoured to supply by the disposition of his men, who were drawn up fifty deep, whereas the Spartans were but twelve. When the Thebans had gained the victory, and killed Cleombrotus, the Spartans renewed the fight to recover the king's body ; and in this the Theban general wisely chose to gratify them, rather than to hazard the success of a second onset. The allies of the Spartans behaved ill in this battle, because they came to it with an expectation to conquer without fighting ; as for the Thebans, they had no allies at this time. This battle was fought in the year before Christ 371. DIOD. SICUL. l. xv. XENOPH. Hellan. l. vi.



The rest of their colleagues, afraid of the law, and disliking a winter campaign, were for marching home without loss of time: but Pelopidas joining with Epaminondas to oppose it, encouraged his fellow-citizens, who led them against Sparta. Having passed the Eurotas, they took many of the Lacedæmonian towns, and ravaged all the country to the very sea, with an army of seventy thousand Greeks, of which the Thebans did not make the twelfth part. But the character of those two great men, without any public order or decree, made all the allies follow with silent approbation, wherever they led. For the first and supreme law, that of nature, seems to direct those that have need of protection, to take him for their chief who is most able to protect them. And as passengers, though, in fine weather, or in port, they may behave insolently, and brave the pilots, yet, as soon as a storm arises and danger appears, fix their eyes on them, and rely wholly on their skill; so the Argives, the Eleans, and the Arcadians, in the bent of their councils were against the Thebans, and contended with them for superiority of command; but when the time of action came, and danger pressed hard, they followed the Theban generals of their own accord, and submitted to their orders.

In this expedition they united all Arcadia into one body, drove out the Spartans who had settled in Messenia, and called home its ancient inhabitants; they likewise repeopled Ithome. And in their return through Cenchrea, they defeated the Athenians,\* who had attacked them in the straits, with a design to hinder their passage.

After such achievements, all the other Greeks were charmed with their valour, and admired their good

\* This happened to the Athenians through the errors of their general Iphicrates, who, though otherwise an able man, forgot the pass of Cenchrea, while he placed his troops in posts less commodious.



fortune: but the envy of their fellow-citizens, which grew up together with their glory, prepared for them a very unkind and unsuitable reception. For at their return they were both capitally tried, for not delivering up their charge, according to law, in the first month which they call *Boucation*, but holding it four months longer; during which time they performed those great actions in Messenia, Arcadia, and Laconia.

Pelopidas was tried first, and therefore was in most danger: however, they were both acquitted. Epaminondas bore the accusation and attempts of malignity with great patience, for he considered it as no small instance of fortitude and magnanimity not to resent the injuries done by his fellow-citizens: but Pelopidas, who was naturally of a warmer temper, and excited by his friends to revenge himself, laid hold on this occasion.

Meneclidas, the orator, was one of those who met upon the great enterprise in Charon's house. This man finding himself not held in the same honour with the rest of the deliverers of their country, and being a good speaker, though of bad principles and a malevolent disposition, indulged his natural turn, in accusing and calumniating his superiors; and this he continued to do with respect to Epaminondas and Pelopidas, even after judgment was passed in their favour. He prevailed so far as to deprive Epaminondas of the government of Bœotia, and managed a party against him a long time with success: but his insinuations against Pelopidas were not listened to by the people, and therefore he endeavoured to embroil him with Charon. It is the common consolation of envy, when a man cannot maintain the higher ground himself, to represent those he is excelled by as inferior to some others. Hence it was, that Meneclidas was ever extolling the actions of Charon to the people, and lavishing encomiums upon his expeditions and victories. Above all, he magnified his success in a battle fought by the cavalry under his command at Plataea, a little before the battle of Leuctra,



and endeavoured to perpetuate the memory of it by some public monument.

The occasion he took was this. Androcides of Cyzicum had agreed with the Thebans for a picture of some other battle, which piece he worked at in the city of Thebes. But upon the revolt, and the war that ensued, he was obliged to quit that city, and leave the painting, which was almost finished, with the Thebans. Meneclidas endeavoured to persuade the people to hang up this piece in one of their temples, with an inscription signifying that it was one of Charon's battles, in order to cast a shade upon the glory of Pelopidas and Epaminondas. Certainly the proposal was vain and absurd to prefer one single engagement,\* in which there fell only Gerandas, a Spartan of no note, with forty others, to so many and such important victories. Pelopidas, therefore, opposed this motion, insisting that it was contrary to the laws and usages of the Thebans, to ascribe the honour of a victory to any one man in particular, and that their country ought to have the glory of it entire. As for Charon, he was liberal in his praises of him through his whole harangue, but he showed that Meneclidas was an envious and malicious man: and he often asked the Thebans, if they had never before done any thing that was great and excellent. Hereupon a heavy fine was laid upon Meneclidas; and, as he was not able to pay it, he endeavoured afterwards to disturb and overturn the government. Such particulars as these, though small, serve to give an insight into the lives and characters of men.

At that time Alexander,† the tyrant of Pheræ, making open war against several cities of Thessaly,

\* Xenophon speaks slightly of Charon: he says, "The exiles went to the house of *one* Charon."

† He had lately poisoned his uncle Polyphron, and set himself up tyrant in his stead. Polyphron, indeed, had killed his own brother Polydore, the father of Alexander. All these, with Jason, who was of the same family, were usurpers in Thessaly, which before was a free state.



and entertaining a secret design to bring the whole country into subjection, the Thessalians sent ambassadors to Thebes to beg the favour of a general and some troops. Pelopidas seeing Epaminondas engaged in settling the affairs of Peloponnesus, offered himself to command in Thessaly, for he was unwilling that his military talents and skill should lie useless, and well satisfied withal, that wherever Epaminondas was, there was no need of any other general. He therefore marched with his forces into Thessaly, where he soon recovered Larissa; and, as Alexander came and made submission, he endeavoured to soften and humanize him, and, instead of a tyrant, to render him a just and good prince. But finding him incorrigible and brutal, and receiving fresh complaints of his cruelty, his unbridled lust, and insatiable avarice, he thought it necessary to treat him with some severity; upon which, he made his escape with his guards.

Having now secured the Thessalians against the tyrant, and left them in a good understanding among themselves, he advanced into Macedonia.\* Ptolomy had commenced hostilities against Alexander, king of that country, and they both had sent for Pelopidas to be an arbitrator of their differences, and an assistant to him who should appear to be injured. Accordingly he went and decided their disputes, recalled such of the Macedonians as had been banished, and taking Philip, the king's brother, and thirty young men of the best families as hostages, he brought them to Thebes; that he might show the Greeks to what height the Theban commonwealth was risen by the reputation of its arms, and the confidence that was placed in its justice and probity.†

\* Amyntas II. left three legitimate children, Alexander, Perdicas, and Philip, and one natural son, whose name was Ptolemy. This last made war against Alexander, slew him treacherously, and reigned three years.

† About this time the cause of liberty was in a great measure



This was that Philip who afterwards made war upon Greece to conquer and enslave it. He was now a boy, and brought up at Thebes, in the house of Pammenes. Hence he was believed to have proposed Epaminondas for his pattern; and perhaps he was attentive to that great man's activity and happy conduct in war, which was in truth the most inconsiderable part of his character: as for his temperance, his justice, his magnanimity, and mildness, which really constituted Epaminondas the great man, Philip had no share of them, either natural or acquired.

After this, the Thessalians complaining again, that Alexander of Pheræ disturbed their peace, and formed designs upon their cities, Pelopidas and Ismenias were deputed to attend them. But having no expectation of a war, Pelopidas had brought no troops with him, and therefore the urgency of the occasion obliged him to make use of the Thessalian forces.

At the same time there were fresh commotions in Macedonia; for Ptolemy had killed the king and assumed the sovereignty. Pelopidas, who was called in by the friends of the deceased, was desirous to undertake the cause; but, having no troops of his own, he hastily raised some mercenaries, and marched with them immediately against Ptolemy. Upon their approach, Ptolemy bribed the mercenaries, and brought them over to his side: yet, dreading the very name and reputation of Pelopidas, he went to pay his respects to him as his superior, endeavoured to pacify him with entreaties, and solemnly promised to keep the kingdom for the brothers of the dead king, and to regard the enemies and friends of the Thebans as his own. For the performance of these conditions he delivered to him his son Philoxenus and fifty of his

deserted by the other Grecian states. Thebes was now the only commonwealth that retained any remains of patriotism and concern for the injured and oppressed.



companions, as hostages. These Pelopidas sent to Thebes. But being incensed at the treachery of the mercenaries, and having intelligence that they had lodged the best part of their effects, together with their wives and children, in Pharsalus, he thought by taking these he might sufficiently revenge the affront. Hereupon he assembled some Thessalian troops, and marched against the town. He was so sooner arrived, than Alexander the tyrant appeared before it with his army. Pelopidas concluding that he was come to make apology for his conduct, went to him with Ismenias. Not that he was ignorant what an abandoned and sanguinary man he had to deal with, but he imagined that the dignity of Thebes and his own character would protect him from violence. The tyrant, however, when he saw them alone and unarmed, immediately seized their persons, and possessed himself of Pharsalus. This struck all his subjects with terror and astonishment: for they were persuaded, that, after such a flagrant act of injustice, he would spare nobody, but behave on all occasions, and to all persons, like a man that had desperately thrown off all regard to his own life and safety.

When the Thebans were informed of this outrage, they were filled with indignation, and gave orders to their army to march directly into Thessaly; but Epaminondas then happening to lie under their displeasure,\* they appointed other generals.

As for Pelopidas, the tyrant took him to Pheræ, where at first he did not deny any one access to him, imagining that he was greatly humbled by his misfortune. But Pelopidas, seeing the Pheræans over-

\* They were displeased at him, because in a late battle fought with the Lacedæmonians near Corinth, he did not as they thought pursue his advantage to the utmost, and put more of the enemy to the sword. Hereupon they removed him from the government of Bœotia, and sent him along with their forces as a private person. Such acts of ingratitude towards great and excellent men are common in popular governments.



whelmed with sorrow, bade them be comforted, because now vengeance was ready to fall upon the tyrant; and sent to tell him, "That he acted very absurdly in daily torturing and putting to death so many of his innocent subjects, and in the meantime sparing *him*, who, he might know, was determined to punish him when once out of his hands." The tyrant, surprised at his magnanimity and unconcern, made answer, "Why is Pelopidas in such haste to die?" Which being reported to Pelopidas, he replied, "It is that thou, being more hated by the gods than ever, mayest the sooner come to a miserable end."

From that time Alexander allowed access to none but his keepers. Thebe, however, the daughter of Jason, who was wife to the tyrant, having an account from those keepers of his noble and intrepid behaviour, had a desire to see him, and to have some discourse with him. When she came into the prison, she could not presently distinguish the majestic turn of his person amidst such an appearance of distress; yet supposing from the disorder of his hair, and the meanness of his attire and provisions, that he was treated unworthily, she wept. Pelopidas, who knew not his visitor, was much surprised; but when he understood her quality, addressed her by her father's name, with whom he had been intimately acquainted. And upon her saying, "I pity your wife," he replied, "And I pity you, who, wearing no fetters, can endure Alexander." This affected her nearly; for she hated the cruelty and insolence of the tyrant, who to his other debaucheries added that of abusing her youngest brother. In consequence of this, and by frequent interviews with Pelopidas, to whom she communicated her sufferings, she conceived a still stronger resentment and aversion for her husband.

The Theban generals, who had entered Thessaly without doing any thing, and either through their incapacity or ill fortune, returned with disgrace, the city of Thebes fined each of them ten thousand



*drachmas*, and gave Epaminondas the command of the army that was to act in Thessaly.

The reputation of the new general gave the Thes-salians fresh spirits, and occasioned such great insur-rections among them, that the tyrant's affairs seemed to be in a very desperate condition; so great was the terror that fell upon his officers and friends, so forward were his subjects to revolt, and so universal was the joy of the prospect of seeing him punished.

Epaminondas, however, preferred the safety of Pelopidas to his own fame; and fearing, if he carried matters to an extremity at first, that the tyrant might grow desperate, and destroy his prisoner, he protracted the war. By fetching a compass, as if to finish his preparations, he kept Alexander in suspense, and managed him so as neither to moderate his violence and pride, nor yet to increase his fierceness and cruelty. For he knew his savage disposition, and the little regard he paid to reason or justice: that he buried some persons alive, and dressed others in the skins of bears and wild boars, and then, by way of diversion, baited them with dogs, or despatched them with darts: that having summoned the people of Melibœa and Scotusa, towns in friendship and alliance with him, to meet him in full assembly, he surrounded them with guards, and with all the wantonness of cruelty put them to the sword: and that he consecrated the spear with which he slew his uncle Polyphron, and having crowned it with garlands, offered sacrifice to it, as to a god, and gave it the name of *Tychon*. Yet upon seeing a tragedian act the *Troades* of Euripides, he went hastily out of the theatre, and at the same time sent a message to the actor, "Not to be discouraged, but to exert all his skill in his part; for it was not out of any dislike that he went out, but he was ashamed that his citizens should see him, who never pitied those he put to death, weep at the sufferings of Hecuba and Andromache."



This execrable tyrant was terrified at the very name and character of Epaminondas,

And dropped the craven wing.

He sent an embassy in all haste to offer satisfaction, but that general did not vouchsafe to admit such a man into alliance with the Thebans; he only granted him a truce of thirty days, and having recovered Pelopidas and Ismenias out of his hands, he marched back again with his army.

Soon after this the Thebans having discovered that the Lacedæmonians and Athenians had sent ambassadors to the king of Persia, to draw him into league with them, sent Pelopidas on their part; whose established reputation amply justified their choice. For he had no sooner entered the king's dominions than he was universally known and honoured: the fame of his battles with the Lacedæmonians had spread itself through Asia; and, after his victory at Leuctra, the report of new successes continually following, had extended his renown to the most distant provinces. So that when he arrived at the king's court, and appeared before the nobles and great officers that waited there, he was the object of universal admiration; "This, said they, is the man who deprived the Lacedæmonians of the empire both of sea and land, and confined Sparta within the bounds of Tygetus and Eurotas; that Sparta, which a little before, under the conduct of Agesilaus, made war against the great king, and shook the realms of Susa and Ecbatana." On the same account Artaxerxes rejoiced to see Pelopidas, and loaded him with honours. But when he heard him converse in terms that were stronger than those of the Athenians, and plainer than those of the Spartans, he admired him still more; and, as kings seldom conceal their inclinations, he made no secret of his attachment to him, but let the other ambassadors see the distinction in which he held him. It is true, that of all the Greeks



he seemed to have done Antalcidas the Spartan the greatest honour,\* when he took the garland which he wore at table from his head, dipped it in perfumes, and sent it him. But though he did not treat Pelopidas with that familiarity, yet he made him the richest and most magnificent presents, and fully granted his demands; which were, "That all the Greeks should be free and independent; that Messene should be repeopled; and that the Thebans should be reckoned the king's hereditary friends."

With this answer he returned, but without accepting any of the king's presents, except some tokens of his favour and regard: a circumstance that reflected no small dishonour upon the other ambassadors. The Athenians condemned and executed Timagoras, and justly too, if it was on account of the many presents he received: for he accepted not only gold and silver, but a magnificent bed, and servants to make it, as if that was an art which the Greeks were not skilled in. He received also four-score cows, and herdsmen to take care of them, as if he wanted their milk for his health; and, at last, he suffered himself to be carried in a litter as far as the sea-coast at the king's expense, who paid four talents for his conveyance: but his receiving of presents does not seem to have been the principal thing that incensed the Athenians. For when Epicrates, the armour-bearer, acknowledged in full assembly, that he had received the king's presents, and talked of proposing a decree, that, instead of choosing nine *archons* every year, nine of the poorest citizens should be sent ambassadors to the king, that by his gifts they might be raised to affluence, the people only laughed at the motion. What exasperated the Athenians most, was, that the Thebans had obtained of

\* If Plutarch means the Spartan ambassador, he differs from Xenophon, who says that his name was Euthicles. He likewise tells us that Timagoras was the person whom the king esteemed next to Pelopidas.



the king all they asked ; they did not consider how much the character of Pelopidas outweighed the address of their orators, with a man who ever paid particular attention to military excellence.

This embassy procured Pelopidas great applause, as well on account of the repeopling of Messene, as to the restoring of liberty to the rest of Greece.

Alexander the Pheræan was now returned to his natural disposition ; he had destroyed several cities of Thessaly, and put garrisons into the towns of the Phthiotæ, the Achæans and the Magnesians. As soon as these oppressed people had learned that Pelopidas was returned, they sent their deputies to Thebes, to beg the favour of some forces, and that he might be their general. The Thebans willingly granted their request, and an army was soon got ready ; but as the general was on the point of marching, the sun began to be eclipsed, and the city was covered with darkness in the day-time.

Pelopidas, seeing the people in great consternation at this *phænomenon*, did not think proper to force the army to move, while under such terror and dismay, nor to risk the lives of seven thousand of his fellow-citizens. Instead of that, he went himself into Thessaly, and taking with him only three hundred horse, consisting of Theban volunteers and strangers, he set out, contrary to the warnings of the soothsayers and inclinations of the people : for they considered the eclipse as a sign from heaven, the object of which must be some illustrious personage. But, besides that Pelopidas was the more exasperated against Alexander by reason of the ill treatment he had received, he hoped from the conversation he had with Thebe, to find the tyrant's family embroiled and in great disorder. The greatest incitement, however, was the honour of the thing. He had a generous ambition to shew the Greeks, at a time when the Lacedæmonians were sending generals and other officers to Dionysius the tyrant of Sicily,



and the Athenians were pensioners to Alexander, as their benefactor, to whom they had erected a statue in brass, that the Thebans were the only people who took the field in behalf of the oppressed, and endeavoured to exterminate all arbitrary and unjust government.

When he was arrived at Pharsalus, he assembled his forces, and then marched directly against Alexander; who, knowing that Pelopidas had but few Thebans about him, and that he himself had double his number of Thessalian infantry, went to meet him as far as the temple of Thetes. When he was informed that the tyrant was advancing towards him with a great army, "*So much the better,*" said he, "*for we shall beat so many the more.*"

Near the place called Cynoscephalæ, there are two steep hills opposite each other, in the middle of the plain. Both sides endeavoured to get possession of these hills with their infantry. In the meantime Pelopidas with his cavalry, which was numerous and excellent, charged the enemy's horse, and put them to the rout. But while he was pursuing them over the plain, Alexander had gained the hills, having got before the Thessalian foot, which he attacked as they were trying to force those strong heights, killing the foremost, and wounding many of those that followed, so that they toiled without effecting any thing. Pelopidas seeing this, called back his cavalry, and ordered them to fall upon such of the enemy as still kept their ground on the plain; and taking his buckler in his hand, he ran to join those that were engaged on the hills. He soon made his way to the front, and by his presence inspired his soldiers with such vigour and alacrity, that the enemy thought they had quite different men to deal with. They stood two or three charges; but when they found that the foot still pressed forward, and saw the horse return from the pursuit, they gave ground, and retreated, but slowly, and step by step. Pelopidas then taking



a view, from an eminence, of the enemy's whole army, which did not yet take to flight, but was full of confusion and disorder, stopped a while to look round for Alexander. When he perceived him on the right encouraging and rallying the mercenaries, he was no longer master of himself; but, sacrificing both his safety and his duty as a general, to his passion, he sprang forward a great way before his troops, loudly calling for and challenging the tyrant, who did not dare to meet him or to wait for him, but fell back and hid himself in the midst of his guards. The foremost ranks of the mercenaries, who came hand to hand, were broken by Pelopidas, and a number of them slain; but others, fighting at a distance, pierced his armour with their javelins. The Thessalians, extremely anxious for him, ran down the hill to his assistance, but when they came to the place, they found him dead upon the ground. Both horse and foot then falling upon the enemy's main body, entirely routed them, and killed above three thousand. The pursuit continued a long way, and the fields were covered with the carcasses of the slain.

Such of the Thebans as were present were greatly afflicted at the death of Pelopidas, calling him *their father, their saviour, and instructor in every thing that was great and honourable*. Nor is this to be wondered at; since the Thessalians and allies, after exceeding, by their public acts in his favour, the greatest honours that are usually paid to human virtue, testified their regard for him still more sensibly by the deepest sorrow. For it is said, that those who were in the action, neither put off their armour, nor unbridled their horses, nor bound up their wounds, after they heard that he was dead; but, notwithstanding their heat and fatigue, repaired to the body, as if it still had life and sense, piled round it the spoils of the enemy, and cut off their horses'



manes and their own hair.\* Many of them, when they retired to their tents, neither kindled a fire nor took any refreshment ; but a melancholy silence prevailed throughout the camp, as if, instead of gaining so great and glorious a victory, they had been worsted and enslaved by the tyrant.

When the news was carried to the towns, the magistrates, young men, children, and priests, came out to meet the body, with trophies, crowns, and golden armour : and when the time of his interment was come, some of the Thessalians who were venerable for their age, went and begged of the Thebans that they might have the honour of burying him. One of them expressed himself in these terms : “ What we request of you, our good allies, will be an honour and consolation to us under this great misfortune. It is not the living Pelopidas, whom the Thessalians desire to attend ; it is not to Pelopidas sensible of their gratitude, that they would now pay the due honours ; all we ask is the permission to wash, to adorn, and inter his dead body. And if we obtain this favour, we shall believe you are persuaded that we think our share in the common calamity greater than yours. You have lost only a good general, but we are so unhappy as to be deprived both of him and of our liberty. For how shall we presume to ask you for another general, when we have not restored to you Pelopidas ? ”

The Thebans granted their request. And surely there never was a more magnificent funeral, at least in the opinion of those who do not place magnificence in ivory, gold, and purple ; as Philistus did, who dwells in admiration upon the funeral of Dionysius ; which, properly speaking, was nothing but the pompous catastrophe of that bloody tragedy, his tyranny. Alexander the Great, too, upon the death

\* A customary token of mourning among the ancients.



of Hephæstion, not only had the manes of the horses and mules shorn, but caused the battlements of the walls to be taken down, that the very cities might seem to mourn, by losing their ornaments, and having the appearance of being shorn and chastised with grief. These things being the effects of arbitrary orders, executed through necessity, and attended both with envy of those for whom they are done, and hatred of those who command them, are not proofs of esteem and respect, but of barbaric pomp, of luxury, and vanity, in those who lavish their wealth to such vain and despicable purposes. But that a man who was only one of the subjects of a republic, dying in a strange country, neither his wife, children, or kinsmen present, without the request or command of any one, should be attended home, conducted to the grave, and crowned by so many cities and tribes, might justly pass for an instance of the most perfect happiness. For the observation of Æsop is not true, that *Death is most unfortunate in the time of prosperity ; on the contrary, it is then most happy, since it secures to good men the glory of their virtuous actions, and puts them above the power of fortune.* The compliment, therefore, of the Spartan was much more rational, when embracing Diagoras, after he and his sons and grandsons had all conquered and been crowned at the Olympic games, he said, *Die, die now, Diagoras, for thou canst not be a god.* And yet, I think, if a man should put all the victories in the Olympian and Pythian games together, he would not pretend to compare them with any one of the enterprises of Pelopidas, which were many and all successful ; so that after he had flourished the greatest part of his life with honour and renown, and had been appointed the thirteenth time governor of Bœotia, he died in a great exploit, the consequence of which was the destruction of the tyrant, and the restoring of its liberties to Thessaly.



His death, as it gave the allies great concern, so it brought them still greater advantages. For the Thebans were no sooner informed of it, than prompted by a desire of revenge, they sent upon that business seven thousand foot and seven hundred horse, under the command of Malcites and Diogiton. These finding Alexander weakened with his late defeat, and reduced to great difficulties, compelled him to restore the cities he had taken from the Thessalians, to withdraw his garrisons from the territories of the Magnesians, the Phthiotæ, and Achæans, and to engage by oath to submit to the Thebans, and to keep his forces in readiness to execute their orders.

And here it is proper to relate the punishment which the gods inflicted upon him soon after for his treatment of Pelopidas. He, as we have already mentioned, first taught Thebe, the tyrant's wife, not to dread the exterior pomp and splendour of his palace, though she lived in the midst of guards, consisting of exiles from other countries. She, therefore, fearing his falsehood, and hating his cruelty, agreed with her three brothers, Tisiphonus, Pytholaus, and Lycophron, to take him off; and they put their design in execution after this manner. The whole palace was full of guards, who watched all the night, except the tyrant's bedchamber, which was an upper room, and the door of the apartment was guarded by a dog who was chained there, and who would fly at every body except his master and mistress, and one slave that fed him. When the time fixed for the attempt was come, Thebe concealed her brothers, before it was dark, in a room hard by. She went in alone, as usual, to Alexander, who was already asleep, but presently came out again, and ordered the slave to take away the dog, because her husband chose to sleep without being disturbed: and that the stairs might not creak as the young men came up, she covered them with



wool. She then fetched up her brothers, and leaving them at the door with poniards in their hands, went into the chamber, and taking away the tyrant's sword, which hung at the head of his bed, showed it them as a proof that he was fast asleep. The young men now being struck with terror, and not daring to advance, she reproached them with cowardice, and swore in her rage, that she would awake Alexander, and tell him the whole. Shame and fear having brought them to themselves, she led them in and placed them about the bed, herself holding the light. One of them caught him by the feet, and another by the hair of his head, while the third stabbed him with his poniard. Such a death was, perhaps, too speedy for so abominable a monster; but if it be considered that he was the first tyrant who was assassinated by his own wife, and that his dead body was exposed to all kinds of indignities, and spurned and trodden under foot by his subjects, his punishment will appear to have been proportioned to his crimes.

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## MARCELLUS.

MARCUS CLAUDIUS, who was five times consul, was the son of Marcus; and, according to Posidonius, the first of his family that bore the surname of Marcellus, that is, *Martial*. He had, indeed, a great deal of military experience; his make was strong, his arm almost irresistible, and he was naturally inclined to war. But though impetuous and lofty in the combat, on other occasions he was modest and humane. He was so far a lover of the Grecian learning and eloquence, as to honour and admire those that excelled in them, though his employments



prevented his making that progress in them which he desired. For if Heaven ever designed that any men,

———— in war's rude lists should combat,  
From youth to age————

as Homer expresses it, certainly it was the principal Romans of those times. In their youth they had to contend with the Carthaginians for the island of Sicily, in their middle age with the Gauls for Italy itself, and, in their old age again with the Carthaginians and Hannibal. Thus, even in age, they had not the common relaxation and repose, but were called forth by their birth and their merit to accept of military commands.

As for Marcellus, there was no kind of fighting in which he was not admirably well skilled; but in single combat he excelled himself. He, therefore, never refused a challenge, or failed of killing the challenger. In Sicily, seeing his brother Otacilius in great danger, he covered him with his shield, slew those that attacked him, and saved his life. For these things he received from the generals crowns and other military honours, while but a youth; and his reputation increasing every day, the people appointed him to the office of *curule ædile*, and the priests to that of *augur*. This is a kind of sacerdotal function to which the law assigns the care of that divination which is taken from the flights of birds.

\* \* \* \* \*

After the first Carthaginian war,\* which had lasted

\* Plutarch is a little mistaken here in his chronology. The first Punic war lasted twenty-four years, for it began in the year of Rome four hundred and eighty-nine, and peace was made with the Carthaginians in the year five hundred and twelve. The Gauls continued quiet all that time, and did not begin to stir till four years after. Then they advanced to Ariminum; but the Boii mutinying against their leaders, slew the kings Ates and Galates; after which the Gauls fell upon each other, and numbers were slain; they that sur-



twenty-two years, Rome was soon engaged in a new war with the Gauls. The Insubrians, a Celtic nation, who inhabit that part of Italy which lies at the foot of the Alps, though very powerful in themselves, called in the assistance of the Gesatæ, a people of Gaul, who fight for pay on such occasions. It was a wonderful and fortunate thing for the Roman people, that the Gallic war did not break out at the same time with the Punic; and that the Gauls observing an exact neutrality all that time, as if they had waited to take up the conqueror, did not attack the Romans till they were victorious, and at leisure to receive them. However, this war was not a little alarming to the Romans, as well on account of the vicinity of the Gauls, as their character of old as warriors. They were, indeed, the enemy whom they dreaded most; for they had made themselves masters of Rome; and from that time it had been provided by law, that the priests should be exempted from bearing arms, except it were to defend the city against the Gauls.

The vast preparations they made were farther proofs of their fears; (for it is said that so many thousands of Romans were never seen in arms either before or since) and so were the new and extraordinary sacrifices which they offered. On other occasions, they had not adopted the rites of barbarous and savage nations, but their religious customs had been agreeable to the mild and merciful ceremonies of the Greeks: yet on the appearance of this war, they were forced to comply with certain oracles found in the books of the Sibyls; and thereupon they buried two

vived returned home. Five years after this, the Gauls began to prepare for a new war, on account of the division which Flaminius had made of the lands in the Picene, taken from the Senones of Gallia Cisalpina. These preparations were carrying on a long time; and it was eight years after that division, before the war began in earnest under their chiefs Congolitanus and Anercestes, when L. Æmilius Papus and C. Atilius Regulus were consuls, in the five hundred and twenty-eighth year of Rome, and the third year of the one hundred and thirty-eighth Olympiad. POLYB. l. ii.



Greeks,\* a man and a woman, and likewise two Gauls, one of each sex, alive in the beast-market. A thing that gave rise to certain private and mysterious rites, which still continue to be performed in the month of November.

In the beginning of the war the Romans sometimes gained great advantages, and sometimes were no less signally defeated; but there was no decisive action, till the consulate of Flaminius and Furius, who led a very powerful army against the Insubrians. Then we are told, the river which runs through the Picene, was seen flowing with blood, and that three moons appeared over the city of Ariminum. But the priests who were to observe the flight of birds at the time of choosing consuls, affirmed that the election was faulty and inauspicious. The senate, therefore, immediately sent letters to the camp, to recal the consuls, insisting that they should return without loss of time, and resign their office, and forbidding them to act at all against the enemy in consequence of their late appointment.

Flaminius having received these letters, deferred opening them till he had engaged and routed the barbarians, and overrun their country.† Therefore, when

\* They offered the same sacrifice at the beginning of the second Punic war. LIV. l. xxii. 5. 7.

† Flaminius was not entitled to this success by his conduct. He gave battle with a river behind him, where there was not room for his men to rally or retreat, if they had been broken. But possibly he might make such a disposition of his forces, to show them that they must either conquer or die; for he knew that he was acting against the intentions of the senate, and that nothing but success could bring him off. Indeed, he was naturally rash and daring.

It was the skill and management of the legionary tribunes which made amends for the consul's imprudence. They distributed among the soldiers of the first line the pikes of the Triarii, to prevent the enemy from making use of their swords; and when the first ardour of the Gauls was over, they ordered the Romans to shorten their swords, close with the enemy, so as to leave them no room to lift up their arms, and stab them; which they did without running any hazard themselves, the swords of the Gauls having no point.



he returned loaded with spoils, the people did not go out to meet him ; and because he did not directly obey the order that recalled him, but treated it with contempt, he was in danger of losing his triumph. As soon as the triumph was over, both he and his colleague were deposed, and reduced to the rank of private citizens. So much regard had the Romans for religion, referring all their affairs to the good pleasure of the gods, and, in their greatest prosperity, not suffering any neglect of the forms of divination and other sacred usages ; for they were fully persuaded, that it was a matter of greater importance to the preservation of their state to have their generals obedient to the gods, than even to have them victorious in the field.

To this purpose, the following story is remarkable : —Tiberius Sempronius, who was as much respected for his valour and probity as any man in Rome, while consul, named Scipio Nasica and Caius Marcius his successors. When they were gone into the provinces allotted them, Sempronius happening to meet with a book which contained the sacred regulations for the conduct of war, found that there was one particular which he never knew before. It was this : “When the consul goes to take the auspices in a house or tent without the city, hired for that purpose, and is obliged by some necessary business to return into the city before any sure sign appears to him, he must not make use of that lodge again, but take another, and there begin his observations anew.” Sempronius was ignorant of this, when he named those two consuls, for he had twice made use of the same place : but when he perceived his error, he made the senate acquainted with it. They, for their part, did not lightly pass over so small a defect, but wrote to the consuls about it ; who left their provinces, and returned with all speed to Rome, where they laid down their offices. This did not happen till long after the affair of which we were speaking.\*

\* Sixty years after.



But about that very time, two priests of the best families of Rome, Cornelius Cethegus and Quintus Sulpicius, were degraded from the priesthood; the former, because he did not present the entrails of the victim according to rule; and the latter, because as he was sacrificing, the tuft of his cap, which was such an one as the *Flamines* wear, fell off. And because the squeaking of a rat happened to be heard, at the moment that Minucius the dictator appointed Caius Flaminius his general of horse, the people obliged them to quit their posts, and appointed others in their stead. But while they observed these small matters with such exactness, they gave not into any sort of superstition,\* for they neither changed nor went beyond the ancient ceremonies.

Flaminius and his colleague being deposed from the consulship, the magistrates, called *interreges*,† nominated Marcellus to that high office; who, when he entered upon it, took Cneius Cornelius for his colleague. Though the Gauls are said to have been disposed to a reconciliation, and the senate was peaceably inclined, yet the people, at the instigation of Marcellus, were for war. However, a peace was concluded; which seems to have been broke by the Gesatæ, who having passed the Alps, with thirty thousand men, prevailed with the Insubrians to join them with much greater numbers. Elated with their strength, they marched immediately to Acerræ,‡ a city on the banks of the Po. There Viridomarus, king of the Gesatæ, took ten thousand men from the main body, and with this party laid waste all the country about the river.

\* This word is here used in the literal sense.

† These were officers, who, when there were no legal magistrates in being, were appointed to hold the *comitia* for electing new ones. The title of *interreges*, which was given them while the government was regal, was continued to them under the commonwealth.

‡ The Romans were besieging Acerræ, and the Gauls went to relieve it; but finding themselves unable to do that, they passed the Po with part of their army, and laid siege to Clastidium to make a diversion. POLYB. l. ii.



When Marcellus was informed of their march, he left his colleague before Acerræ, with all the heavy-armed infantry, and the third part of the horse: and taking with him the rest of the cavalry, and about six hundred of the light-armed foot, he set out, and kept forward day and night till he came up with the ten thousand Gesatæ near Clastidium,\* a little town of the Gauls, which had very lately submitted to the Romans. He had not time to give his troops any rest or refreshment; for the barbarians immediately perceived his approach, and despised his attempt, as he had but a handful of infantry, and they made no account of his cavalry. These, as well as all the other Gauls, being skilled in fighting on horseback, thought they had the advantage in this respect; and, besides, they greatly exceeded Marcellus in numbers. They marched, therefore, directly against him, their king at their head, with great impetuosity and dreadful menaces, as if sure of crushing him at once. Marcellus, because his party was but small, to prevent its being surrounded, extended the wings of his cavalry, thinning and widening the line, till he presented a front nearly equal to that of the enemy. He was now advancing to the charge, when his horse, terrified with the shouts of the Gauls, turned short, and forcibly carried him back. Marcellus fearing that this, interpreted by superstition, should cause some disorder in his troops, quickly turned his horse again towards the enemy, and then paid his adorations to the sun; as if that movement had been made, not by accident but design, for the Romans always turn round when they worship the gods. Upon the point of engaging, he vowed to Jupiter *Feretrius* the choicest of the enemy's arms. In the meantime, the king of the Gauls spied him, and judging by the ensigns of authority that he was the consul, he set spurs to his horse, and advanced a considerable way be-

\* Livy places this town in Liguria Montana.



fore the rest, brandishing his spear, and loudly challenging him to the combat. He was distinguished from the rest of the Gauls by his stature, as well as by his armour, which, being set off with gold and silver, and the most lively colours, shone like lightning. As Marcellus was viewing the disposition of the enemy's forces, he cast his eyes upon this rich suit of armour, and concluding that in it his vow to Jupiter would be accomplished, he rushed upon the Gaul, and pierced his breastplate with his spear; which stroke, together with the weight and force of the consul's horse, brought him to the ground, and with two or three more blows he despatched him. He then leaped from his horse and disarmed him, and lifting up his spoils towards heaven, he said, "O Jupiter *Feretrius*, who observest the deeds of great warriors and generals in battle, I now call thee to witness, that I am the third Roman consul and general who have, with my own hands, slain a general and a king! To thee I consecrate the most excellent spoils. Do thou grant us equal success in the prosecution of this war."

When this prayer was ended, the Roman cavalry encountered both the enemy's horse and foot at the same time, and gained a victory; not only great in itself, but peculiar in its kind: for we have no account of such a handful of cavalry beating such numbers, both of horse and foot, either before or since. Marcellus having killed the greatest part of the enemy, and taken their arms and baggage, returned to his colleague,\* who had no such good success against the Gauls before Milan, which is a great and populous city, and the metropolis of that country. For this reason the Gauls defended it with such spirit and resolution, that Scipio, instead of besieging it,

\* During the absence of Marcellus, Acerræ had been taken by his colleague Scipio, who from thence had marched to invest Mediolanum, or Milan.



seemed rather besieged himself. But upon the return of Marcellus, the Gesatæ, understanding that their king was slain, and his army defeated, drew off their forces; and so Milan was taken;\* and the Gauls surrendering the rest of their cities, and referring every thing to the equity of the Romans, obtained reasonable conditions of peace.

The senate decreed a triumph to Marcellus only; and, whether we consider the rich spoils that were displayed in it, the prodigious size of the captives, or the magnificence with which the whole was conducted, it was one of the most splendid that was ever seen. But the most agreeable and most uncommon spectacle was Marcellus himself, carrying the armour of Viridomarus, which he vowed to Jupiter. He had cut the trunk of an oak in the form of a trophy, which he adorned with the spoils of that barbarian, placing every part of his arms in handsome order. When the procession began to move, he mounted his chariot, which was drawn by four horses, and passed through the city with the trophy on his shoulders, which was the noblest ornament of the whole triumph. The army followed, clad in elegant armour, and singing odes composed for that occasion, and other songs of triumph, in honour of Jupiter and their general.

When he came to the temple of Jupiter *Feretrius* he set up and consecrated the trophy, being the third and last general, who as yet has been so gloriously distinguished. The first was Romulus, after he had slain Acron, king of the Cæninenses; Cornelius Cossus, who slew Volumnius the Tuscan, was the second; and the third and last was Marcellus, who killed with his own hand Viridomarus, king of the Gauls. The god to whom these spoils were de-

\* Comum also, another city of great importance, surrendered. Thus all Italy, from the Alps to the Ionian sea, became entirely Roman.



voted, was Jupiter, surnamed *Feretrius*, (as some say) from the Greek word *Pheretron*, which signifies *a car*, for the trophy was borne on such a carriage, and the Greek language at that time was much mixed with the Latin. Others say, Jupiter had that appellation, because he *strikes with lightning*, for the Latin word *ferire* signifies to *strike*. Others again will have it, that it is on account of the strokes which are given in battle; for even now, when the Romans charge or pursue an enemy, they encourage each other by calling out, *feri, feri*, strike, strike them down. What they take from the enemy in the field, they call by the general name of *spoils*, but those which a Roman general takes from the general of the enemy, they call *opime spoils*. It is indeed said, that Numa Pompilius, in his commentaries, makes mention of *opime spoils* of the first, second, and third order: that he directed the first to be consecrated to Jupiter, the second to Mars, and the third to Quirinus; and that the persons who took the first should be rewarded with three hundred *ases*, the second, with two hundred, and the third, one hundred. But the most received opinion is, that those of the first sort only should be honoured with the name *opime*, which a general takes in a pitched battle, when he kills the enemy's general with his own hand. But enough of this matter.

The Romans thought themselves so happy in the glorious period put to this war, that they made an offering to Apollo at Delphi of a golden cup in testimony of their gratitude: they also liberally shared the spoils with the confederate cities, and made a very handsome present out of them to Hiero, king of Syracuse, their friend and ally.

Sometime after this, Hannibal having entered Italy, Marcellus was sent with a fleet to Sicily. The war continued to rage, and that unfortunate blow was received at Cannæ, by which many thousands of Romans fell. The few that escaped fled to Canu-



sium; and it was expected that Hannibal, who had thus destroyed the strength of the Roman forces, would march directly to Rome. Hereupon, Marcellus first sent fifteen hundred of his men to guard the city, and afterwards, by order of the senate, he went to Canusium, drew out the troops that had retired thither, and marched at their head to keep the country from being ravaged by the enemy.

The wars had by this time carried off the chief of the Roman nobility, and most of their best officers. Still, indeed, there remained Fabius Maximus, a man highly respected for his probity and prudence; but his extraordinary attention to the avoiding of loss passed for want of spirit and incapacity for action. The Romans, therefore, considering him as a proper person for the defensive, but not the offensive part of war, had recourse to Marcellus; and wisely tempering his boldness and activity with the slow and cautious conduct of Fabius, they sometimes appointed them consuls together, and sometimes sent out the one in the quality of Consul, and the other in that of Proconsul. Posidonius tells us, that Fabius was called *the buckler*, and Marcellus *the sword*: but Hannibal himself said, "He stood in fear of Fabius as his schoolmaster, and of Marcellus as his adversary: for he received hurt from the latter, and the former prevented his doing hurt himself."

Hannibal's soldiers, elated with their victory, grew careless, and, straggling from the camp, roamed about the country; where Marcellus fell upon them, and cut off great numbers. After this, he went to the relief of Naples and Nola. The Neapolitans he confirmed in the Roman interest, to which they were themselves well inclined: but when he entered Nola, he found great divisions there, the senate of that city being unable to restrain the commonalty who were attached to Hannibal. There was a citizen in this place named Bandius,\* well born and celebrated for

\* Or Bantius.



his valour : for he greatly distinguished himself in the battle of Cannæ, where, after killing a number of Carthaginians, he was at last found upon a heap of dead bodies, covered with wounds. Hannibal admiring his bravery, dismissed him not only without ransom, but with handsome presents, honouring him with his friendship and admission to the rights of hospitality. Bandius, in gratitude for these favours, heartily espoused the party of Hannibal, and by his authority drew the people on to a revolt. Marcellus thought it wrong to put a man to death, who had gloriously fought the battles of Rome. Besides, the general had so engaging a manner grafted upon his native humanity, that he could hardly fail of attracting the regards of a man of a great and generous spirit. One day, Bandius happening to salute him, Marcellus asked who he was : not that he was a stranger to his person, but that he might have an opportunity to introduce what he had to say. Being told his name was Lucius Bandius, "What!" says Marcellus, in seeming admiration, "that Bandius who has been so much talked of in Rome for his gallant behaviour at Cannæ, who indeed was the only man that did not abandon the consul Æmilius, but received in his own body most of the shafts that were aimed at him!" Bandius saying, he was the very person, and showing some of his scars, "Why then," replied Marcellus, "when you bore about you such marks of your regard for us, did not you come to us one of the first? Do we seem to you slow to reward the virtue of a friend, who is honoured even by his enemies?" After this obliging discourse, he embraced him, and made him a present of a war horse, and five hundred drachmas in silver.

From this time Bandius was very cordially attached to Marcellus, and constantly informed him of the proceedings of the opposite party, who were very numerous, and who had resolved, when the Romans marched out against the enemy, to plunder their baggage. Hereupon Marcellus drew up his forces



in order of battle within the city, placed the baggage near the gates, and published an edict, forbidding the inhabitants to appear upon the walls. Hannibal seeing no hostile appearance, concluded that every thing was in great disorder in the city, and therefore he approached it with little precaution. At this moment Marcellus commanded the gate that was next him to be opened, and sallying out with the best of his cavalry, he charged the enemy in front. Soon after the infantry rushed out at another gate, with loud shouts. And while Hannibal was dividing his forces, to oppose these two parties, a third gate was opened, and the rest of the Roman troops issuing out, attacked the enemy on another side, who were greatly disconcerted at such an unexpected sally, and who made but a faint resistance against those with whom they were first engaged, by reason of their being fallen upon by another body.

Then it was that Hannibal's men, struck with terror, and covered with wounds, first gave back before the Romans, and were driven to their camp. Above five thousand of them are said to have been slain, whereas of the Romans there fell not more than five hundred. Livy does not, indeed, make this defeat and loss on the Carthaginian side to have been so considerable; he only affirms that Marcellus gained great honour by this battle, and that the courage of the Romans was wonderfully restored after all their misfortunes, who now no longer believed that they had to do with an enemy that was invincible, but one who was liable to suffer in his turn.

For this reason, the people called Marcellus, though absent, to fill the place of one of the consuls\*

\* This was Posthumious Albinus, who was cut off with all his army by the Boii in a vast forest, called by the Gauls the forest of Litana. It seems they had cut all the trees near the road he was to pass in such a manner that they might be tumbled upon his army with the least motion.



who was dead, and prevailed, against the sense of the magistrates, to have the election put off till his return. Upon his arrival, he was unanimously chosen consul; but it happening to thunder at that time, the augurs saw that the omen was unfortunate; and, as they did not choose to declare it such, for fear of the people,\* Marcellus voluntarily laid down the office. Notwithstanding this, he had the command of the army continued to him, in quality of Proconsul, and returned immediately to Nola, from whence he made excursions to chastise those that had declared for the Carthaginians. Hannibal made haste to their assistance, and offered him battle, which he declined. But some days after, when he saw that Hannibal, no longer expecting a battle, had sent out the greatest part of his army to plunder the country, he attacked him vigorously, having first provided the foot with long spears, such as they use in sea-fights, which they were taught to hurl at the Carthaginians at a distance, who, for their part, were not skilled in the use of the javelin, and only fought hand to hand with short swords. For this reason all that attempted to make head against the Romans, were obliged to give way, and fly in great confusion, leaving five thousand men slain upon the field;† besides the loss of four elephants killed, and two taken. What was of still greater importance, the third day after the battle,‡ above three hundred horse, Spaniards and

\* Marcellus was a plebeian, as was also his colleague Sempronius; and the patricians, unwilling to see two plebeians Consuls at the same time, influenced the augurs to pronounce the election of Marcellus disagreeable to the gods. But the people would not have acquiesced in the declaration of the augurs, had not Marcellus showed himself on this occasion as zealous a republican as he was a great commander, and refused that honour which had not the sanction of all his fellow-citizens.

† On the Roman side there was not a thousand killed. LIV. lib. xxiii. c. 46.

‡ Livy makes them a thousand two hundred and seventy-two.



Numidians, came over to Marcellus. A misfortune which never before happened to Hannibal; for though his army was collected from several barbarous nations, different both in their manners and their language, yet he had a long time preserved a perfect unanimity throughout the whole. This body of horse ever continued faithful to Marcellus, and those that succeeded him in the command.\*

Marcellus, being appointed consul the third time, passed over into Sicily.† For Hannibal's great success had encouraged the Carthaginians again to support their claim to that island: and they did it the rather, because the affairs of Syracuse were in some confusion upon the death of Hieronymus‡ its sovereign. On this account the Romans had already sent an army thither under the command of Appius Claudius.§

It is therefore probable that we should read in this place, *one thousand three hundred horse*.

\* Marcellus beat Hannibal a third time before Nola: and had Claudius Nero, who was sent out to take a circuit and attack the Carthaginians in the rear, come up in time, that day would probably have made reprisals for the loss sustained at Cannæ. Liv. lib. xxiv. 17.

† In the second year of the hundred and forty-first Olympiad, the five hundred and thirty-ninth of Rome, and two hundred and twelve years before the birth of Christ.

‡ Hieronymus was murdered by his own subjects at Leontium, the conspirators having prevailed upon Dinomanes, one of his guards, to favour their attack. He was the son of Gelo and the grandson of Hiero. His father Gelo died first, and afterwards his grandfather, being ninety years old; and Hieronymus, who was not then fifteen, was slain some months after. These three deaths happened towards the latter end of the year that preceded Marcellus's third consulate.

§ Appius Claudius, who was sent into Sicily, in quality of prætor, was there before the death of Hieronymus. That young prince, having a turn for raillery, only laughed at the Roman ambassadors: "I will ask you," said he, "but one question: who were conquerors at Cannæ, you or the Carthaginians? I am told such surprising things of that battle, that I should be glad to know all the particulars of it." And again, "Let the Romans restore all the gold, the corn, and the other presents, that they drew from my grandfather,



The command devolving upon Marcellus, he was no sooner arrived in Sicily, than a great number of Romans came to throw themselves at his feet, and represent to him their distress. Of those that fought against Hannibal at Cannæ, some escaped by flight, and others were taken prisoners; the latter in such numbers, that it was thought the Romans must want men to defend the walls of their capital. Yet that commonwealth had so much firmness and elevation of mind, that though Hannibal offered to release the prisoners for a very inconsiderable ransom, they refused it by a public act, and left them to be put to death or sold out of Italy. As for those that had saved themselves by flight, they sent them into Sicily, with an order not to set foot on Italian ground during the war with Hannibal. These came to Marcellus in a body, and falling on their knees, begged with loud lamentations and floods of tears, the favour of being admitted again into the army, promising to make it appear by their future behaviour, that that defeat was owing to their misfortune, and not to their cowardice. Marcellus, moved with compassion, wrote to the senate, desiring leave to recruit his army with these exiles, as he should find occasion. After much deliberation, the senate signified by a decree, "That the commonwealth had no need of the service of cowards: that Marcellus, however, might employ them if he pleased, but on condition that he did not bestow upon any of them crowns, or other honorary rewards." This decree gave Marcellus some uneasiness, and after he returned from the war in Sicily, he expostulated with the senate, and complained, "That for all his services they would not allow him to rescue from infamy those unfortunate citizens."

His first care, after he arrived in Sicily, was to make and consent that the river Himera be the common boundary between us, and I will renew the ancient treaties with them." Some writers are of opinion, that the Roman prætor was not entirely unconcerned in a plot which was so useful to his republic.



reprisals for the injury received from Hippocrates, the Syracusan general, who, to gratify the Carthaginians, and by their means to set himself up tyrant, had attacked the Romans, and killed great numbers of them, in the district of Leontium. Marcellus, therefore, laid siege to that city, and took it by storm, but did no harm to the inhabitants; only such deserters as he found there he ordered to be beaten with rods, and then put to death. Hippocrates took care to give the Syracusans the first notice of the taking of Leontium, assuring them at the same time, that Marcellus had put to the sword all that were able to bear arms; and while they were under great consternation at this news, he came suddenly upon the city, and made himself master of it.

Hereupon Marcellus marched with his whole army, and encamped before Syracuse. But before he attempted any thing against it, he sent ambassadors with a true account of what he had done at Leontium. As this information had no effect with the Syracusans, who were entirely in the power of Hippocrates,\* he made his attacks both by sea and land, Appius Claudius commanding the land forces, and himself the fleet, which consisted of sixty galleys, of five banks of oars, full of all sorts of arms and missive weapons. Besides these, he had a prodigious machine, carried upon eight galleys fastened together, with which he approached the walls, relying upon the number of his batteries, and other instruments of war, as well as on his own great character. But Archimedes despised all this; and confided in the superiority of his engines: though he did not

\* Hieronymus being assassinated, and the commonwealth restored, Hippocrates and Epycides, Hannibal's agents, being of Syracusan extraction, had the address to get themselves admitted into the number of prætors. In consequence of which, they found means to embroil the Syracusans with Rome, in spite of the opposition of such of the prætors as had the interest of their country at heart.



think the inventing of them an object worthy of his serious studies, but only reckoned them among the amusements of geometry. Nor had he gone so far, but at the pressing instances of king Hiero, who entreated him to turn his art from abstracted notions to matters of sense, and to make his reasonings more intelligible to the generality of mankind, applying them to the uses of common life.

The first that turned their thoughts to *mechanics*, a branch of knowledge which came afterwards to be so much admired, were Eudoxus and Archytas, who thus gave a variety and an agreeable turn to geometry, and confirmed certain problems by sensible experiments and the use of instruments, which could not be demonstrated in the way of theorem. That problem, for example, of two mean proportional lines, which cannot be found out geometrically, and yet are so necessary for the solution of other questions, they solved mechanically, by the assistance of certain instruments called *mesolabes*, taken from conic sections. But when Plato inveighed against them, with great indignation, as corrupting and debasing the excellence of geometry, by making her descend from incorporeal and intellectual, to corporeal and sensible things, and obliging her to make use of matter, which requires much manual labour, and is the object of servile trades; then *mechanics* were separated from geometry, and being a long time despised by the philosopher, were considered as a branch of the military art.

Be that as it may, Archimedes one day asserted to king Hiero, whose kinsman and friend he was, this proposition, that with a given power he could move any given weight whatever; nay, it is said, from the confidence he had in his demonstration, he ventured to affirm, that if there was another earth besides this we inhabit, by going into that, he would move this wherever he pleased. Hiero, full of wonder, begged of him to evince the truth of his propo-



sition, by moving some great weight with a small power. In compliance with which, Archimedes caused one of the king's galleys to be drawn on shore with many hands and much labour; and having well manned her, and put on board her usual loading, he placed himself at a distance, and without any pains, only moving with his hand the end of a machine, which consisted of a variety of ropes and pulleys, he drew her to him in as smooth and gentle a manner as if she had been under sail. The king, quite astonished when he saw the force of his art, prevailed with Archimedes to make for him all manner of engines and machines which could be used either for attack or defence in a siege. These, however, he never made use of, the greatest part of his reign being blessed with tranquillity; but they were extremely serviceable to the Syracusans on the present occasion, who, with such a number of machines, had the inventor to direct them.

When the Romans attacked them both by sea and land, they were struck dumb with terror, imagining they could not possibly resist such numerous forces and so furious an assault. But Archimedes soon began to play his engines, and they shot against the land forces all sorts of missive weapons and stones of an enormous size, with so incredible a noise and rapidity that nothing could stand before them; they overturned and crushed whatever came in their way, and spread terrible disorder throughout the ranks. On the side towards the sea were erected vast machines, putting forth on a sudden, over the walls, huge beams with the necessary tackle, which striking with a prodigious force on the enemy's galleys, sunk them at once: while other ships hoisted up at the prows by iron grapples or hooks,\* like the beaks of

\* What most harassed the Romans was a sort of crow with two claws, fastened to a long chain, which was let down by a kind of lever. The weight of the iron made it fall, with great violence,



cranes, and set on end on the stern, were plunged to the bottom of the sea: and others again, by ropes and grapples, were drawn towards the shore, and after being whirled about, and dashed against the rocks that projected below the walls, were broken to pieces, and the crews perished. Very often a ship lifted high above the sea, suspended and twirling in the air, presented a most dreadful spectacle. There it swung till the men were thrown out by the violence of the motion, and then it split against the walls, or sunk, on the engine's letting go its hold. As for the machine which Marcellus brought forward upon eight galleys, and which was called *sambuca*, on account of its likeness to the musical instrument of that name, whilst it was at a considerable distance from the walls, Archimedes discharged a stone of ten talents weight,\* and after that a second and a third, all which striking upon it with an amazing noise and force, shattered and totally disjointed it.

Marcellus, in this distress, drew off his galleys as fast as possible, and sent orders to the land forces

and drove it into the planks of the galleys. Then the besieged, by a great weight of lead at the other end of the lever, weighed it down, and consequently raised up the iron of the crow in proportion, and with it the prow of the galley to which it was fastened, sinking the poop at the same time into the water. After this, the crow letting go its hold all on a sudden, the prow of the galley fell with such force into the sea, that the whole vessel was filled with water and sunk.

\* It is not easy to conceive, how the machines formed by Archimedes could throw stones of ten quintals or talents, that is, twelve hundred and fifty pounds weight, at the ships of Marcellus, when they were at a considerable distance from the walls. The account which Polybius gives us, is much more probable. He says, that the stones that were thrown by the *balistæ* made by Archimedes, were of the weight of ten pounds. Livy seems to agree with Polybius. Indeed, if we suppose that Plutarch did not mean the talent of an hundred and twenty-five pounds, but the talent of Sicily, which some say weighed twenty-five pounds, and others only ten, his account comes more within the bounds of probability.



to retreat likewise. He then called a council of war, in which it was resolved to come close to the walls, if it was possible, next morning before day. For Archimedes's engines, they thought, being very strong, and intended to act at a considerable distance, would then discharge themselves over their heads; and if they were pointed at them when they were so near, they would have no effect. But for this Archimedes had long been prepared, having by him engines fitted to all distances, with suitable weapons and shorter beams. Besides, he had caused holes to be made in the walls, in which he placed *scorpions*, that did not carry far, but could be very fast discharged; and by these the enemy was galled, without knowing whence the weapon came.

When, therefore, the Romans were got close to the walls, undiscovered as they thought, they were welcomed with a shower of darts, and huge pieces of rocks, which fell as it were perpendicularly upon their heads; for the engines played from every quarter of the walls. This obliged them to retire; and when they were at some distance, other shafts were shot at them, in their retreat, from the larger machines, which made terrible havoc among them, as well as greatly damaged their shipping, without any possibility of their annoying the Syracusans in their turn. For Archimedes had placed most of his engines under covert of the walls; so that the Romans, being infinitely distressed by an invisible enemy, seemed to fight against the gods.

Marcellus, however, got off, and laughed at his own artillery-men, and engineers. "Why do not we leave off contending," said he, "with this mathematical Briareus, who sitting on the shore, and acting as it were but in jest, has shamefully baffled our naval assault; and, in striking us with such a multitude of bolts at once, exceeds even the hundred-handed giants in the fable?" And, in truth, all the rest of the Syracusans were no more than the body in the



batteries of Archimedes, while he himself was the informing soul. All other weapons lay idle and unemployed; his were the only offensive and defensive arms of the city. At last the Romans were so terrified, that if they saw but a rope or a stick put over the walls, they cried out that Archimedes was levelling some machine at them, and turned their backs and fled. Marcellus seeing this, gave up all thoughts of proceeding by assault, and leaving the matter to time, turned the siege into a blockade.

Yet Archimedes had such a depth of understanding, such a dignity of sentiment, and so copious a fund of mathematical knowledge, that, though in the invention of these machines he gained the reputation of a man endowed with divine rather than human knowledge, yet he did not vouchsafe to leave any account of them in writing. For he considered all attention to *mechanics*, and every art that ministers to common uses, as mean and sordid, and placed his whole delight in those intellectual speculations, which, without any relation to the necessities of life, have an intrinsic excellence arising from truth and demonstration only. Indeed, if mechanical knowledge is valuable for the curious frame and amazing power of those machines which it produces, the other infinitely excels on account of its invincible force and conviction. And certainly it is, that abstruse and profound questions in geometry, are nowhere solved by a more simple process and upon clearer principles, than in the writings of Archimedes. Some ascribe this to the acuteness of his genius, and others to his indefatigable industry, by which he made things that cost a great deal of pains appear unlaboured and easy. In fact, it is almost impossible for a man of himself to find out the demonstration of his propositions, but as soon as he had learned it from him, he will think he could have done it without assistance: such a ready and easy way does he lead us to what he wants to prove. We are not,



therefore, to reject as incredible, what is related of him, that being perpetually charmed by a domestic syren, that is, his geometry, he neglected his meat and drink, and took no care of his person ; that he was often carried by force to the baths, and when there, he would make mathematical figures in the ashes, and with his finger draw lines upon his body, when it was anointed ; so much was he transported with intellectual delight, such an enthusiast in science. And though he was the author of many curious and excellent discoveries, yet he is said to have desired his friends only to place on his tombstone a cylinder containing a sphere,\* and to set down the proportion which the containing solid bears to the contained. Such was Archimedes, who exerted all his skill to defend himself and the town against the Romans.

During the siege of Syracuse, Marcellus went against Megara, one of the most ancient cities of Sicily, and took it. He also fell upon Hippocrates, as he was entrenching himself at Acrillæ, and killed above eight thousand of his men.† Nay, he over-

\* Cicero, when he was quæstor in Sicily, discovered this monument, and showed it to the Syracusans, who knew not that it was in being. He says there were verses inscribed upon it, expressing that a cylinder and a sphere had been put upon the tomb ; the proportion between which two solids Archimedes first discovered. From the death of this great mathematician, which fell out in the year of Rome five hundred and forty-two, to the quæstorship of Cicero, which was in the year of Rome six hundred and seventy-eight, an hundred and thirty-six years were elapsed. Though time had not quite obliterated the cylinder and the sphere, it had put an end to the learning of Syracuse, once so respectable in the republic of letters.

† Himilco, had entered the port of Heraclea with a numerous fleet sent from Carthage, and landed twenty thousand foot, three thousand horse, and twelve elephants. His forces were no sooner set ashore, than he marched against Agrigentum, which he retook from the Romans, with several other cities lately reduced by Marcellus. Hereupon, the Syracusan garrison, which was yet entire, determined to send out Hippocrates with ten thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, to join Himilco. Marcellus, after having made a vain attempt upon Agrigentum, was returning to Syracuse.



ran the greatest part of Sicily, brought over several cities from the Carthaginian interest, and beat all that attempted to face him in the field.

Some time after, when he returned to Syracuse, he surprised one Damippus, a Spartan, as he was sailing out of the harbour; and the Syracusans being very desirous to ransom him, several conferences were held about it; in one of which Marcellus took notice of a tower but slightly guarded, into which a number of men might be privately conveyed, the wall that led to it, being easy to be scaled. As they often met to confer at the foot of this tower, he made a good estimate of its height, and provided himself with proper scaling ladders: and observing that on the festival of Diana, the Syracusans drank freely and gave a loose to mirth, he not only possessed himself of the tower, undiscovered, but before day light filled the walls of that quarter with soldiers, and forcibly entered the Hexapylum. The Syracusans, as soon as they perceived it, began to move about in great confusion; but Marcellus ordering all the trumpets to sound at once, they were seized with consternation, and betook themselves to flight, believing that the whole city was lost. However, the Achradina, which was the strongest, the most extensive, and fairest part of it, was not taken, being divided by walls from the rest of the city, one part of which was called Neapolis, and the other Tyche. The enterprise thus prospering, Marcellus at day break moved down from the Hexapylum into the city, where he was congratulated by his officers on the great event.\* But it is said, that he himself, when he surveyed from an

As he drew near Acrillæ, he unexpectedly discovered Hippocrates busy in fortifying his camp, fell upon him before he had time to draw up his army, and cut eight thousand of them in pieces.

\* Epipolæ was entered in the night, and Tyche next morning. Epipolæ was encompassed with the same wall as Ortygia, Achradina, Tyche, and Neapolis; had its own citadel called Euryalum on the top of a steep rock, and was, as we may say, a fifth city.



eminence that great and magnificent city, shed many tears, in pity of its impending fate, reflecting into what a scene of misery and desolation its fair appearance would be changed, when it came to be sacked and plundered by the soldiers. For the troops demanded the plunder, and not one of the officers durst oppose it. Many even insisted that the city should be burned and levelled with the ground; but to this Marcellus absolutely refused his consent. It was with reluctance that he gave up the effects and the slaves; and he strictly charged the soldiers not to touch any free man or woman, not to kill, or abuse, or make a slave of any citizen whatever.

But though he acted with so much moderation, the city had harder measure than he wished, and amidst the great and general joy, his soul sympathized with its sufferings, when he considered that in a few hours the prosperity of such a flourishing state would be no more. It is even said, that the plunder of Syracuse was as rich as that of Carthage after it.\* For the rest of the city was soon betrayed

\* The siege of Syracuse lasted in the whole three years; no small part of which passed after Marcellus entered Tyche. As Plutarch has run so slightly over the subsequent events, it may not be amiss to give a summary detail of them from Livy.

Epiclydes, who had his head quarters in the farthest part of Ortygia, hearing that the Romans had seized on Epipolæ and Tyche, went to drive them from their posts: but finding much greater numbers than he expected got into the town, after a slight skirmish he retired. Marcellus, unwilling to destroy the city, tried gentle methods with the inhabitants; but the Syracusans rejected his proposals; and their general appointed the Roman deserters to guard Achradina, which they did with extreme care, knowing, that if the town were taken by composition they must die. Marcellus then turned his arms against the fortress of Euryalum, which he hoped to reduce in a short time by famine. Philodemus, who commanded there, kept him in play some time, in hope of succours from Hipocrates and Himilco; but finding himself disappointed, he surrendered the place, on condition of being allowed to march out with his men, and join Epiclydes. Marcellus, now master of Euryalum, blocked up Achradina so close, that it could not hold out long with-



to the Romans, and pillaged: only the royal treasure was preserved, and carried into the public treasury at Rome.

But what most of all afflicted Marcellus, was the unhappy fate of Archimedes; who was at that time in his study, engaged in some mathematical researches; and his mind, as well as his eye, was so intent upon his diagram, that he neither heard the tumultuous noise of the Romans, nor perceived that

out new supplies of men and provisions. But Hippocrates and Himilco soon arrived; and it was resolved that Hippocrates should attack the old camp of the Romans without the walls, commanded by Crispinus, while Epicydes sallied out upon Marcellus. Hippocrates was vigorously repulsed by Crispinus, who pursued him up to his entrenchments, and Epicydes was forced to return into Achradina with great loss, and narrowly escaped being taken prisoner by Marcellus. The unfortunate Syracusans were now in the greatest distress for want of provisions; and to complete their misery, a plague broke out among them; of which Himilco and Hippocrates died, with many thousands more. Hereupon, Bomilcar sailed to Carthage again for fresh supplies; and returned to Sicily with a large fleet; but hearing of the great preparations of the Romans at sea, and probably fearing the event of a battle, he unexpectedly steered away. Epicydes, who was gone out to meet him, was afraid to return into a city half taken, and therefore fled for refuge to Agrigentum. The Syracusans then assassinated the governors left by Epicydes, and proposed to submit to Marcellus. For which purpose they sent deputies, who were graciously received. But the garrison, which consisted of Roman deserters and mercenaries, raising fresh disturbances, killed the officers appointed by the Syracusans, and chose six new ones of their own. Among these was a Spaniard named Mexicus, a man of great integrity, who disapproving of the cruelties of his party, determined to give up the place to Marcellus. In pursuance of which, under pretences of greater care than ordinary, he desired that each governor might have the sole direction in his own quarter; which gave him an opportunity to open the gate of Arethusa to the Roman general. And now Marcellus being at length become master of the unfaithful city, gave signal proofs of his clemency and good-nature. He suffered the Roman deserters to escape; for he was unwilling to shed the blood even of traitors. No wonder then if he spared the lives of the Syracusans and their children; though as he told them, the services which good king Hiero had rendered Rome were exceeded by the insults they had offered her in a few years.



the city was taken. A soldier suddenly entered his room, and ordered him to follow him to Marcellus; and Archimedes refusing to do it, till he had finished his problem, and brought his demonstration to bear, the soldier, in a passion, drew his sword and killed him. Others say, the soldier came up to him at first with a drawn sword to kill him, and Archimedes perceiving him, begged he would hold his hand a moment, that he might not leave his theorem imperfect; but the soldier, neither regarding him nor his theorem, laid him dead at his feet. A third account of the matter is, that, as Archimedes was carrying in a box some mathematical instruments to Marcellus, as sundials, spheres, and quadrants, by which the eye might measure the magnitude of the sun, some soldiers met him, and imagining that there was gold in the box, took away his life for it. It is agreed, however, on all hands, that Marcellus was much concerned at his death; that he turned away his face from his murderer, as from an impious and execrable person; and that having by enquiry found out his relations, he bestowed upon them many signal favours.

Hitherto the Romans had shown other nations their abilities to plan, and their courage to execute, but they had given them no proof of their clemency, their humanity, or, in one word, of their political virtue. Marcellus seems to have been the first who made it appear, to the Greeks, that the Romans had greater regard to equity than they. For such was his goodness to those that addressed him, and so many benefits did he confer upon cities as well as private persons, that if Enna, Megara, and Syracuse were treated harshly, the blame of that severity was rather to be charged on the sufferers themselves, than on those who chastised them.

I shall mention one of the many instances of this great man's moderation. There is in Sicily a town called Enguium, not large, indeed, but very ancient, and celebrated for the appearance of the goddesses



called the *Mothers*.\* The temple is said to have been built by the Cretans, and they show some spears and brazen helmets, inscribed with the names of Meriones and Ulysses, who consecrated them to those goddesses. This town was strongly inclined to favour the Carthaginians ; but Nicias, one of its principal inhabitants, endeavoured to persuade them to go over to the Romans, declaring his sentiments freely in their public assemblies, and proving that his opposers consulted not their true interests. These men, fearing his authority and the influence of his character, resolved to carry him off and put him in the hands of the Carthaginians. Nicias, apprised of it, took measures for his security, without seeming to do so. He publicly gave out unbecoming speeches against the *Mothers*, as if he disbelieved and made light of the received opinion concerning the presence of those goddesses there. Meantime, his enemies rejoiced that he himself furnished them with sufficient reasons for the worst they could do to him. On the day which they had fixed for seizing him, there happened to be an assembly of the people, and Nicias was in the midst of them, treating about some public business. But on a sudden he threw himself upon the ground, in the midst of his discourse, and, after, having laid there some time without speaking, as if he had been in a trance, he lifted up his head, and turning it round, began to speak with a feeble trembling voice, which he raised by degrees : and when he saw the whole assembly struck dumb with horror, he threw off his mantle, tore his vest in pieces, and ran half naked to one of the doors of the theatre, crying out that he was pursued by the *Mothers*. From a scruple of religion no one durst touch or stop him ; all, therefore, making way, he reached one of the city gates, though he no longer

\* These are supposed to be Cybele, Juno, and Ceres. Cicero mentions a temple of Cybele at Enguium.



used any word or action, like one that was heaven-struck and distracted. His wife, who was in the secret, and assisted in the stratagem, took her children, and went and prostrated herself as a suppliant before the altar of the goddesses. Then pretending that she was going to seek her husband, who was wandering about in the fields, she met with no opposition, but got safe out of town; and so both of them escaped to Marcellus at Syracuse. The people of Enguim added many other insults and misdemeanours to their past faults, Marcellus came, and had them loaded with irons, in order to punish them. But Nicias approached him with tears in his eyes, and kissing his hands and embracing his knees, asked pardon for all the citizens, and for his enemies first. Hereupon Marcellus, relenting, set them all at liberty, and suffered not his troops to commit the least disorder in the city; at the same time he bestowed on Nicias a large tract of land and many rich gifts. These particulars we learn from Posidonius the philosopher.

Marcellus,\* after this, being called home to a war in the heart of Italy, carried with him the most valuable of the statues and paintings in Syracuse, that they might embellish his triumph, and be an ornament to Rome. For before this time, that city neither had nor knew any curiosities of this kind; being a stranger to the charms of taste and elegance. Full of arms taken from barbarous nations, and of bloody spoils, and crowned as she was with trophies and other monuments of her triumphs, she afforded not a cheerful and pleasing spectacle, fit for men brought up in ease and luxury, but her look was awful and severe. And as Epaminondas calls the plains of Bœotia *the orchestra, or stage of Mars*, and Xenophon says Ephesus was *the arsenal of war*,

\* Marcellus, before he left Sicily, gained a considerable victory over Epicydes and Hanno; he slew great numbers, and took many prisoners, beside eight elephants. Liv. lib. xxv. 40.



so, in my opinion, (to use the expression of Pindar,) one might then have styled Rome the *temple of frowning MARS*.

Thus Marcellus was more acceptable to the people, because he adorned the city with curiosities in the Grecian taste, whose variety, as well as elegance, was very agreeable to the spectator. But the graver citizens preferred Fabius Maximus, who, when he took Tarentum, brought nothing of that kind away. The money, indeed, and other rich moveables he carried off, but he let the statues and pictures remain, using this memorable expression: *Let us leave the Tarentines their angry deities*. They blamed the proceedings of Marcellus, in the first place, as very invidious for Rome, because he had led not only men, but the very gods in triumph; and their next charge was, that he had spoiled a people inured to agriculture and war, wholly unacquainted with luxury and sloth, and, as Euripides says of Hercules,

In vice untaught, but skill'd where glory led  
To arduous enterprise,

by furnishing them with an occasion of idleness and vain discourse; for they now began to spend great part of the day in disputing about arts and artists. But notwithstanding such censures, this was the very thing that Marcellus valued himself upon, even to the Greeks themselves, that he was the first who taught the Romans to esteem and to admire the exquisite performances of Greece, which were hitherto unknown to them.

Finding, at his return, that his enemies opposed his triumph, and considering that the war was not quite finished in Sicily, as well as that a third triumph might expose him to the envy of his fellow-citizens, he so far yielded as to content himself with leading up the greater triumph on mount Alba, and entering Rome with the less. The less is called by the Greeks *evan*, and by the Romans an *ovation*.



In this the general does not ride in a triumphal chariot drawn by four horses; he is not crowned with laurel, nor has he trumpets sounding before him, but he walks in sandals, attended with the music of many flutes, and wearing a crown of myrtle; his appearance, therefore, having nothing in it warlike, is rather pleasing than formidable. This is to me a plain proof, that triumphs of old were distinguished, not by the importance of the achievement, but by the manner of its performance. For those that subdued their enemies, by fighting battles and spilling much blood, entered with that warlike and dreadful pomp of the greater triumph, and, as is customary in the lustration of an army, wore crowns of laurel, and adorned their arms with the same. But when a general, without fighting, gained his point by treaty and the force of persuasion, the law decreed him this honour, called *Ovation*, which had more the appearance of a festival than of war. For the flute is an instrument used in time of peace; and the myrtle is the tree of Venus, who, of all the deities, is most averse to violence and war.

Now the term *ovation* is not derived (as most authors think) from the word *evan*, which is uttered in shouts of joy, for they have the same shouts and songs in the other triumph; but the Greeks have wrested it to a word well known in their language, believing that this procession is intended in some measure in honour of Bacchus, whom they call *Evius* and *Thriambus*. The truth of the matter is this: it was customary for the generals, in the greater triumphs, to sacrifice an ox; and in the less a sheep, in Latin *ovis*, whence the word *ovation*. On this occasion it is worth our while to observe, how different the institutions of the Spartan legislator were from those of the Roman, with respect to sacrifices. In Sparta, the general who put a period to a war by policy or persuasion, sacrificed a bullock; but he whose success was owing to force of arms, offered



only a cock. For though they were a very warlike people, they thought it more honourable, and more worthy of a human being, to succeed by eloquence and wisdom, than by courage and force. But this point I leave to be considered by the reader.

When Marcellus was chosen consul the fourth time, the Syracusans, at the instigation of his enemies, came to Rome to accuse him, and to complain to the senate, that he had treated them in a cruel manner, and contrary to the faith of treaties.\* It happened that Marcellus was at that time in the Capitol, offering sacrifice. The Syracusan deputies went immediately to the senate, who were yet sitting, and falling on their knees, begged of them to hear their complaints, and to do them justice: but the other consul repulsed them with indignation, because Marcellus was not there to defend himself. Marcellus, however, being informed of it, came with all possible expedition, and having seated himself in his chair of state, first despatched some public business as consul. When that was over, he came down from his seat, and went as a private person to the place appointed for the accused to make their defence in, giving the Syracusans opportunity to make good their charge. But they were greatly confounded to see the dignity and unconcern with which he behaved; and he who had been irresistible in arms, was still more awful and terrible to behold in his robe of purple. Nevertheless, encouraged by his enemies, they opened the accusation in a speech, mingled with lamentations, the sum of which was, "That, though friends and allies of Rome, they had suffered more damage from Marcellus, than some other generals had permitted to be done to a con-

\* The Syracusans were scarce arrived at Rome, before the consuls drew lots for their provinces, and Sicily fell to Marcellus. This was a great stroke to the Syracusan deputies, and they would not have dared to prosecute their charge, had not Marcellus voluntarily offered to change the provinces.



quered enemy." To this, Marcellus made answer,\* "That, notwithstanding the many instances of their criminal behaviour to the Romans, they had suffered nothing but what it is impossible to prevent, when a city is taken by storm; and that Syracuse was so taken, was entirely their own fault, because he had often summoned it to surrender, and they refused to listen to him. That, in short, they were not forced by their tyrants to commit hostilities, but they had themselves set up tyrants for the sake of going to war."

The reasons of both sides thus heard, the Syracusans, according to the custom in that case, withdrew, and Marcellus went out with them, leaving it to his colleague to collect the votes. While he stood at the door of the senate-house,† he was neither moved with the fear of the issue of the cause, nor with resentment against the Syracusans, so as to change his usual deportment, but with great mildness and decorum he waited for the event. When the cause was decided, and he was declared to have gained it,‡ the Syracusans fell at his feet, and besought him with tears to pardon not only those that were present, but to take compassion on the rest of their citizens, who would ever acknowledge with gratitude the favour. Marcellus, moved with their entreaties,

\* When the Syracusans had finished their accusations against Marcellus, his colleague, Lævinus, ordered them to withdraw; but Marcellus desired they might stay and hear his defence.

† While the cause was debating, he went to the capitol, to take the names of the new levies.

‡ The conduct of Marcellus, on the taking of Syracuse, was not entirely approved of at Rome. Some of the senators remembering the attachment which king Hiero had on all occasions shown to their republic, could not help condemning their general for giving up the city to be plundered by his rapacious soldiers. The Syracusans were not in a condition to make good their party against an army of mercenaries; and therefore were obliged against their will to yield to the times, and obey the ministers of Hannibal, who commanded the army.



not only pardoned the deputies, but continued his protection to the other Syracusans; and the senate, approving the privileges he had granted, confirmed to them their liberty, their laws, and the possessions that remained to them. For this reason, beside other signal honours with which they distinguished Marcellus, they made a law, that whenever he or any of his descendants entered Sicily, the Syracusans should wear garlands, and offer sacrifices to the gods.

After this, Marcellus marched against Hannibal. And though almost all the other consuls and generals, after the defeat at Cannæ, availed themselves of the single art of avoiding an engagement with the Carthaginian, and not one of them durst meet him fairly in the field, Marcellus took quite a different course. He was of opinion, that instead of Hannibal's being worn out by length of time, the strength of Italy would be insensibly wasted by him; and that the slow cautious maxims of Fabius were not fit to cure the malady of his country; since, by pursuing them, the flames of war could not be extinguished, until Italy was consumed: just as timorous physicians neglect to apply strong, though necessary remedies, thinking the distemper will abate with the strength of the patient.

In the first place, he recovered the best towns of the Samnites, which had revolted. In them he found considerable magazines of corn and a great quantity of money, beside making three thousand of Hannibal's men, who garrisoned them, prisoners. In the next place, when Cneius Fulvius the proconsul, with eleven tribunes, was slain, and great part of his army cut in pieces, by Hannibal in Apulia, Marcellus sent letters to Rome, to exhort the citizens to be of good courage, for he himself was on his march to drive Hannibal out of the country. The reading of these letters, Livy tells us, was so far from removing their grief, that it added terror to it, the



Romans reckoning the present danger as much greater than the past, as Marcellus was a greater man than Fulvius.

Marcellus then going in quest of Hannibal, according to his promise, entered Lucania, and found him encamped on inaccessible heights near the city of Numistro. Marcellus himself pitched his tents on the plain, and the next day, was the first to draw up his forces in order of battle. Hannibal declined not the combat, but descended from the hills, and a battle ensued, which was not decisive indeed, but great and bloody: for though the action began at the third hour, it was with difficulty that night put a stop to it. Next morning, by break of day, Marcellus again drew up his army, and posting it among the dead bodies, challenged Hannibal to dispute it with him for the victory. But Hannibal chose to draw off; and Marcellus, after he had gathered the spoils of the enemy, and buried his own dead, marched in pursuit of him. Though the Carthaginian laid many snares for him, he escaped them all; and having the advantage too in all skirmishes, his success was looked upon with admiration. Therefore, when the time of the next election came on, the senate thought proper to call the other consul out of Sicily, rather than draw off Marcellus, who was grappling with Hannibal. When he was arrived, they ordered him to declare Quintus Fulvius dictator. For a **DICTATOR** is not named either by the people or the senate, but one of the consuls or prætors, advancing into the assembly, names whom he pleases. Hence some think, the term *Dictator* comes from *dicere*, which in Latin signifies *to name*: but others assert, that the *Dictator* is so called, because he refers nothing to plurality of voices in the senate, or to the suffrages of the people, but gives his orders at his own pleasure. For the orders of magistrates, which the Greeks call *diatagmata*, the Romans call *edicta*, edicts.



The colleague\* of Marcellus was disposed to appoint another person dictator, and that he might not be obliged to depart from his own opinion, he left Rome by night, and sailed back to Sicily. The people, therefore, named Quintus Fulvius dictator, and the senate wrote to Marcellus to confirm the nomination, which he did accordingly.

Marcellus was appointed proconsul for the year following: and having agreed with Fabius Maximus the consul by letters, that Fabius should besiege Tarentum, while himself was to watch the motions of Hannibal, and prevent his relieving the place, he marched after him with all diligence, and came up with him at Canusium. And as Hannibal shifted his camp continually, to avoid coming to a battle, Marcellus watched him closely, and took care to keep him in sight. At last, coming up with him as he was encamping, he so harassed him with skirmishes, that he drew him to an engagement; but night soon came on, and parted the combatants. Next morning early, he drew his army out of the entrenchments, and put them in order of battle; so that Hannibal, in great vexation, assembled the Carthaginians, and begged of them to exert themselves more in that battle than ever they had done before. "For you see," said he, "that we can neither take breath, after so many victories already gained, nor enjoy the least leisure if we are victorious now, unless this man be driven off."

After this, a battle ensued, in which Marcellus seems to have miscarried by an unseasonable movement.† For seeing his right wing hard pressed, he

\* Lævinus, who was the colleague of Marcellus, wanted to name M. Valerius Messala, dictator. As he left Rome abruptly, and enjoined the prætor not to name Fulvius, the tribunes of the people took upon them to do it, and the senate got the nomination confirmed by the consul Marcellus.

† The movement was not unseasonable, but ill executed. Livy says, the right wing gave way faster than they needed to have



ordered one of the legions to advance to the front, to support them. This movement put the whole army in disorder, and decided the day in favour of the enemy; two thousand seven hundred Romans being slain upon the spot. Marcellus retreated into his camp, and having summoned his troops together, told them, "He saw the arms and bodies of Romans in abundance before him, but not one Roman." On their begging pardon, he said, "He would not forgive them while vanquished, but when they came to be victorious he would: and that he would lead them into the field again the next day, that the news of the victory might reach Rome before that of their flight." Before he dismissed them, he gave orders that barley should be measured out, instead of wheat,\* to those companies that had turned their backs. His reprimand made such an impression on them, that though many were dangerously wounded, there was not a man who did not feel more pain from the words of Marcellus, than he did from his wounds.

Next morning, the scarlet robe, which was the ordinary signal of battle, was hung out betimes; and the companies that had come off with dishonour before, obtained leave, at their earnest request, to be posted in the foremost line: after which the tribunes drew up the rest of the troops in their proper order. When this was reported to Hannibal, he said, "Ye gods, what can one do with a man, who is not affected with either good or bad fortune? This is the only man who will neither give any time to rest when he is victorious, nor take any when he is beaten. We must even resolve to fight with him for ever; since, whether prosperous or unsuccessful,

done, and the eighteenth legion, which was ordered to advance from rear to front, moved too slowly; this occasioned the disorder.

\* This was a common punishment. Besides which, he ordered that the officers of those companies should continue all day long with their swords drawn, and without their girdles. Liv. xxvii. 13.



a principle of honour leads him on to new attempts and farther exertions of courage."

Both armies then engaged, and Hannibal seeing no advantage gained by either, ordered his elephants to be brought forward into the first line, and to be pushed against the Romans. The shock caused great confusion at first in the Roman front; but Flavius, a tribune, snatching an ensign-staff from one of the companies, advanced, and with the point of it wounded the foremost elephant. The beast upon this turned back, and ran upon the second, the second upon the next that followed, and so on till they were all put in great disorder. Marcellus observing this, ordered his horse to fall furiously upon the enemy, and taking advantage of the confusion already made, to rout them entirely. Accordingly, they charged with extraordinary vigour, and drove the Carthaginians to their entrenchments. The slaughter was dreadful; and the fall of the killed, and the plunging of the wounded elephants, contributed greatly to it. It is said that more than eight thousand Carthaginians fell in this battle; of the Romans not above three thousand were slain, but almost all the rest were wounded. This gave Hannibal opportunity to decamp silently in the night, and remove to a great distance from Marcellus, who, by reason of the number of his wounded, was not able to pursue him, but retired, by easy marches, into Campania, and passed the summer in the city of Sinuessa,\* to recover and refresh his soldiers.

Hannibal, thus disengaged from Marcellus, made use of his troops, now at liberty, and securely overran the country, burning and destroying all before him. This gave occasion to unfavourable reports of Marcellus at Rome; and his enemies incited Publius Bibulus, one of the tribunes of the people, a man

\* Livy says in Venusia, which, being much nearer Canusium, was more convenient for the wounded men to retire to.



of violent temper, and a vehement speaker, to accuse him in form. Accordingly Bibulus often assembled the people, and endeavoured to persuade them to take the command from him, and give it to another: "Since Marcellus," said he, "has only exchanged a few thrusts with Hannibal, and then left the stage, and is gone to the hot baths to refresh himself."\*

When Marcellus was apprised of these practices against him, he left his army in charge with his lieutenants, and went to Rome to make his defence. On his arrival, he found an impeachment framed out of those calumnies.—And the day fixed for it being come, and the people assembled in the Flaminian Circus, Bibulus ascended the tribune's seat and set forth his charge. Marcellus's answer was plain and short: but many persons of distinction among the citizens exerted themselves greatly, and spoke with much freedom, exhorting the people not to judge worse of Marcellus than the enemy himself had done, by fixing a mark of cowardice upon the only general whom Hannibal shunned, and used as much art and care to avoid fighting with, as he did to seek the combat with others. These remonstrances had such an effect, that the accuser was totally disappointed in his expectations; for Marcellus was not only acquitted of the charge, but a fifth time chosen consul.

As soon as he had entered upon his office, he visited the cities of Tuscany, and by his personal influence allayed a dangerous commotion, that tended to a revolt. At his return, he was desirous to dedicate to HONOUR and VIRTUE the temple which he had built out of the Sicilian spoils, but was opposed by the priests, who would not consent that two

\* There were hot baths near Sinuessa, but none near Venusia. Therefore, if Marcellus went to the latter place this satirical stroke was not applicable. Accordingly Livy does not apply it; he only makes Bibulus say, that Marcellus passed the summer in quarters.



deities should be contained in one temple.\* Taking this opposition ill, and considering it as ominous, he began another temple.

There were many other prodigies that gave him uneasiness. Some temples were struck with lightning; in that of Jupiter rats gnawed the gold; it was even reported that an ox spoke, and that there was a child living which was born with an elephant's head: and when the expiation of these prodigies was attempted, there were no tokens of success. The *Augurs*, therefore, kept him in Rome, notwithstanding his impatience and eagerness to be gone. For never was man so passionately desirous of any thing as he was of fighting a decisive battle with Hannibal. It was his dream by night, the subject of conversation all day with his friends and colleagues, and his sole request to the gods, that he might meet Hannibal fairly in the field. Nay, I verily believe, he would have been glad to have had both armies surrounded with a wall or entrenchment, and to have fought in that enclosure. Indeed, had he not already attained to such a height of glory, had he not given so many proofs of his equalling the best generals in prudence and discretion, I should think he gave way to a sanguine and extravagant ambition, unsuitable to his years; for he was above sixty when he entered upon his fifth consulate.

At last, the expiatory sacrifices being such as the soothsayers approved, he set out, with his colleague, to prosecute the war, and fixed his camp between Bantia and Venusia. There he tried every method to provoke Hannibal to a battle, which he constantly

\* They said, if the temple should be struck with thunder and lightning, or any other prodigy should happen to it that wanted expiation, they should not know to which of the deities they ought to offer the expiatory sacrifice. Marcellus, therefore, to satisfy the priests, began another temple, and the work was carried on with great diligence; but he did not live to dedicate it. His son consecrated both the temples about four years after.



declined. But the Carthaginian perceiving that the consuls had ordered some troops to go and lay siege to the city of the *Epizephyrians*, or western Locrians,\* he laid an ambuscade on their way, under the hill of Petelia, and killed two thousand five hundred of them. This added stings to Marcellus's desire of an engagement, and made him draw nearer to the enemy.

Between the two armies was a hill, which afforded a pretty strong post; it was covered with thickets, and on both sides were hollows, from whence issued springs and rivulets. The Romans were surprised that Hannibal, who came first to so advantageous a place, did not take possession of it, but left it for the enemy. He did, indeed, think it a good place for a camp, but a better for an ambuscade, and to that use he chose to put it. He filled, therefore, the thickets and hollows with a good number of archers and spearmen, assuring himself that the convenience of the post would draw the Romans to it. Nor was he mistaken in his conjecture. Presently nothing was talked of in the Roman army, but the expediency of seizing this hill; and, as if they had been all generals, they set forth the many advantages they should have over the enemy, by encamping, or, at least, raising a fortification upon it. Thus Marcellus was induced to go with a few horse to take a view of the hill; but, before he went, he offered sacrifice. In the first victim that was slain, the diviner showed him the liver without a head; in the second, the head was very plump and large, and the other tokens appearing remarkably good, seemed sufficient to dispel the fears of the first; but the diviners declared, they were the more alarmed on that very account; for when favourable signs on a sudden follow threatening and inauspicious ones, the

\* This was not a detachment from the forces of the consuls, which they did not choose to weaken when in the sight of such an enemy as Hannibal. It consisted of troops drawn from Sicily, and from the garrison of Tarentum.



strangeness of the alteration should rather be suspected. But as Pindar says,

Nor fire, nor walls of triple brass  
Control the high behests of Fate.

He therefore set out to view the place, taking with him his colleague Crispinus, his son Marcellus, who was a tribune, and only two hundred and twenty horse, among whom there was not one Roman; they were all Tuscans, except forty Fregellanians, of whose courage and fidelity he had sufficient experience. On the summit of the hill, which, as we said before, was covered with trees and bushes, the enemy had placed a sentinel, who, without being seen himself, could see every movement in the Roman camp. Those that lay in ambush having intelligence from him of what was doing, lay close till Marcellus came very near, and then all at once rushed out, spread themselves about him, let fly a shower of arrows, and charged him with their swords and spears. Some pursued the fugitives, and others attacked those that stood their ground. The latter were the forty Fregellanians; for, the Tuscans taking to flight at the first charge, the others closed together in a body to defend the consuls: and they continued the fight till Crispinus, wounded with two arrows, turned his horse to make his escape, and Marcellus being run through between the shoulders with a lance, fell down dead. Then the few Fregellanians that remained, leaving the body of Marcellus, carried off his son, who was wounded, and fled with him to the camp.

In this skirmish there were not many more than forty men killed; eighteen were taken prisoners, besides five *lictors*. Crispinus died of his wounds a few days after.\* This was a most unparalleled

\* He did not die till the latter end of the year, having named T. Manlius Torquatus, dictator, to hold the *comitia*. Some say he died at Tarentum; others in Capania.



misfortune : the Romans lost both the consuls in one action.

Hannibal made but little account of the rest, but when he knew that Marcellus was killed, he hastened to the place, and, standing over the body a long time, surveyed its size and mien ; but without speaking one insulting word, or showing the least sign of joy, which might have been expected at the fall of so dangerous and formidable an enemy. He stood, indeed, awhile astonished at the strange death of so great a man ; and at last taking his signet from his finger,\* he caused his body to be magnificently attired and burned, and the ashes to be put in a silver urn, and then placed a crown of gold upon it, and sent it to his son. But certain Numidians meeting those that carried the urn, attempted to take it from them, and as the others stood upon their guard to defend it, the ashes were scattered in the struggle. When Hannibal was informed of it, he said to those who were about him, *You see it is impossible to do any thing against the will of God.* He punished the Numidians, indeed, but took no farther care about collecting and sending the remains of Marcellus, believing that some deity had ordained that Marcellus should die in so strange a manner, and that his ashes should be denied burial. This account of the matter we have from Cornelius Nepos and Valerius Maximus ; but Livy† and Augustus

\* Hannibal imagined he should have some opportunity or other of making use of this seal to his advantage. But Crispinus despatched messengers to all the neighbouring cities, in the interest of Rome, acquainting them that Marcellus was killed, and Hannibal master of his ring. This precaution preserved Salapia, in Apulia. Nay, the inhabitants turned the artifice of the Carthaginian upon himself. For admitting, upon a letter sealed with that ring, six hundred of Hannibal's men, most of them Roman deserters, into the town, they on a sudden pulled up the draw-bridges, cut in pieces those who had entered, and, with a shower of darts from the ramparts, drove back the rest. LIV. l. xxvii. c. 28.

† Livy tells us, that Hannibal buried the body of Marcellus on the hill where he was slain.



Cæsar affirm, that the urn was carried to his son, and that his remains were interred with great magnificence.

Marcellus's public donations, besides those he dedicated at Rome, were a *Gymnasium*, which he built at Catata in Sicily; and several statues and paintings, brought from Syracuse, which he set up in the temple of the *Cabiri* in Samothrace, and in that of Minerva at Lindus. In the latter of these, the following verses, as Posidonius tells us, were inscribed on the pedestal of his statue:

The light of Rome, Marcellus here behold,  
For birth, for deeds of arms, by fame enroll'd.  
Seven times his FASCES graced the martial plain,  
And by his thundering arm were thousands slain.

The author of this inscription adds to his five consulates the dignity of proconsul, with which he was twice honoured. His posterity continued in great splendour down to Marcellus, the son of Caius Marcellus and Octavia the sister of Augustus.\* He died very young, in the office of *ædile*, soon after he had married Julia, the emperor's daughter. To do honour to his memory, Octavia dedicated to him a library,† and Augustus a theatre, and both these public works bore his name.

\* His family continued after his death an hundred and eighty-five years; for he was slain in the first year of the hundred and forty-third olympiad, in the five hundred and forty-fifth year of Rome, and two hundred and six years before the Christian æra; and young Marcellus died in the second year of the hundred and eighty-ninth olympiad, and seven hundred and thirtieth of Rome.

† According to Seutonius and Dion, it was not Octavia but Augustus that dedicated this library.



PELOPIDAS AND MARCELLUS  
COMPARED.

THESE are the particulars which we thought worth reciting from history concerning Marcellus and Pelopidas; between whom there was a perfect resemblance in the gifts of nature, and in their lives and manners. For they were both men of heroic strength, capable of enduring the greatest fatigue, and in courage and magnanimity they were equal. The sole difference is, that Marcellus, in most of the cities which he took by assault, committed great slaughter, whereas Epaminondas and Pelopidas never spilt the blood of any man they had conquered, nor enslaved any city they had taken. And it is affirmed, that if they had been present, the Thebans would not have deprived the Orchomenians of their liberty.

As to their achievements, among those of Marcellus there was none greater or more illustrious than his beating such an army of Gauls, both horse and foot, with a handful of horse only, of which you will scarce meet with another instance, and his slaying their prince with his own hand. Pelopidas hoped to have done something of the like nature, but miscarried, and lost his life in the attempt. However, the great and glorious battles of Leuctra and Tegyrae may be compared with these exploits of Marcellus. And, on the other hand, there is nothing of Marcellus's effected by stratagem and surprise, which can be set against the happy management of Pelopidas, at his return from exile, in taking off the Theban tyrants. Indeed, of all the enterprises of the secret hand of art, that was the masterpiece.

If it be said that Hannibal was a formidable enemy to the Romans, the Lacedæmonians were



certainly the same to the Thebans. And yet it is agreed on all hands, that they were thoroughly beaten by Pelopidas, at Leuctra and Tegyræ; whereas, according to Polybius, Hannibal was never once defeated by Marcellus, but continued invincible till he had to do with Scipio. However, we rather believe with Livy, Cæsar, and Cornelius Nepos, among the Latin historians, and with king Juba\* among the Greek, that Marcellus did sometimes beat Hannibal, and even put his troops to flight, though he gained no advantage of him sufficient to turn the balance considerably on his side: so that one might even think, that the Carthaginian then acted with the art of a wrestler, who sometimes suffers himself to be thrown. But what has been very justly admired in Marcellus is, that, after such great armies had been routed, so many generals slain, and the whole empire almost totally subverted, he found means to inspire his troops with courage enough to make head against the enemy. He was the only man that from a state of terror and dismay, in which they had long remained, raised the army to an eagerness for battle, and infused into them such a spirit, that, far from tamely giving up the victory, they disputed it with the greatest obstinacy. For those very men, who had been accustomed by a run of ill success to think themselves happy if they could escape Hannibal by flight, were taught by Marcellus to be ashamed of coming off with disadvantage, to blush at the very thought of giving way, and to be sensibly affected if they gained not the victory.

As Pelopidas never lost a battle in which he commanded in person, and Marcellus won more than any Roman of his time, he who performed so many

\* This historian was the son of Juba, king of Numidia, who, in the civil war, sided with Pompey, and was slain by Petreius in single combat. The son, mentioned here, was brought in triumph by Cæsar to Rome, where he was educated in the learning of the Greeks and Romans.



exploits, and was so hard to conquer, may, perhaps, be put on a level with the other, who was never beaten. On the other hand, it may be observed, that Marcellus took Syracuse, whereas Pelopidas failed in his attempt upon Sparta. Yet, I think, even to approach Sparta, and to be the first that ever passed the Eurotas in a hostile manner, was a greater achievement than the conquest of Sicily; unless it may be said, that the honour of this exploit, as well as that of Leuctra, belongs rather to Epaminondas than to Pelopidas, whereas the glory Marcellus gained was entirely his own. For he alone took Syracuse: he defeated the Gauls without his colleague; he made head against Hannibal, not only without the assistance, but against the remonstrances, of the other generals; and, changing the face of war, he first taught the Romans to meet the enemy with a good countenance.

As for their deaths, I praise neither the one nor the other, but it is with concern and indignation that I think of the strange circumstances that attended them. At the same time I admire Hannibal, who fought such a number of battles as it would be a labour to reckon, without ever receiving a wound: and I greatly approve the behaviour of Chrysantes, in the *Cyropædia*, who having his sword lifted up and ready to strike, upon hearing the trumpets sound a retreat, calmly and modestly retired without giving the stroke. Pelopidas, however, was somewhat excusable, because he was not only warmed with the heat of battle, but incited by a generous desire of revenge. And, as Euripides says,

The first of chiefs is he who laurels gains,  
And buys them not with life: the next is he  
Who dies, but dies in Virtue's arms——

In such a man, dying is a free and voluntary act, not a passive submission to fate. But beside his resentment, the end Pelopidas proposed to himself in



conquering, which was the death of a tyrant, with reason animated him to uncommon efforts; for it was not easy to find another cause so great and glorious wherein to exert himself. But Marcellus, without any urgent occasion, without that enthusiasm which often pushes men beyond the bounds of reason in time of danger, unadvisedly exposed himself, and died not like a general, but like a spy; risking his five consulates, his three triumphs, his trophies and spoils of kings against a company of Spaniards and Numidians, who had bartered with the Carthaginians for their lives and services. An accident so strange, that those very adventurers could not forbear grudging themselves such success, when they found that a man the most distinguished of all the Romans for valour, as well as power and fame, had fallen by their hands, amidst a scouting party of Fregellanians.

Let not this, however, be deemed an accusation against these great men, but rather a complaint to them of injury done themselves, by sacrificing all their other virtues to their intrepidity, and a free expostulation with them for being so prodigal of their blood as to shed it for their own sakes, when it ought to have fallen only for their country, their friends, and their allies.

Pelopidas was buried by his friends, in whose cause he was slain, and Marcellus by those enemies that slew him. The first was a happy and desirable thing, but the other was greater and more extraordinary; for gratitude in a friend for benefits received, is not equal to an enemy's admiring the virtue by which he suffers. In the first case there is more regard to interest than to merit; in the latter, real worth is the sole object of the honour paid.



## ARISTIDES.

ARISTIDES, the son of Lysimachus, was of the tribe of Antiochus, and the ward of Alopece. Of his estate we have different accounts. Some say, he was always very poor, and that he left two daughters behind him, who remained a long time unmarried, on account of their poverty.\*—But Demetrius the Phalerean contradicts this general opinion in his *Socrates*, and says there was a farm at Phalera which went by the name of Aristides, and that there he was buried. And to prove that there was a competent estate in his family, he produces three arguments. The first is taken from the office of archon,† which made the year bear his name; and which fell to him by lot; and for this none took their chance but such as had an income of the first degree, consisting of five hundred measures of corn, wine, and oil, who therefore were called *Pentacosiomedimni*. The second argument is founded on the *Ostracism*, by which he was banished, and which was never inflicted on the meaner sort, but only upon persons of quality, whose grandeur and family pride made them obnoxious to the people. The third and last is drawn from the Tripods, which Aristides dedicated in the temple of Bacchus, on account of his victory in the public games, and which are still to be seen, with this inscription, “The tribe of Antiochus gained the victory, Aristides defrayed the charges, and Archestratus was the author of the play.”

\* And yet, according to a law of Solon’s, the bride was to carry with her only three suits of cloths, and a little household stuff of small value.

† At Athens they reckoned their years by *Archons*, as the Romans did their’s by *Consuls*. One of the nine Archons, who all had estates of the first degree, was for this purpose chosen by lot out of the rest, and his name inscribed in the public registers.



But this last argument, though in appearance the strongest of all, is really a very weak one. For Epaminondas, who, as every body knows, lived and died poor, and Plato the philosopher, who was not rich, exhibited very splendid shows: the one was at the expense of a concert of flutes at Thebes, and the other of an entertainment of singing and dancing performed by boys at Athens; Dion having furnished Plato with the money, and Pelopidas supplied Epaminondas. For why should good men be always averse to the presents of their friends? while they think it mean and ungenerous to receive any thing for themselves, to lay up, or to gratify an avaricious temper, they need not refuse such offers as serve the purposes of honour and magnificence, without any views of profit.

As to the Tripods, inscribed with ARISTIDES, Panætius shows plainly that Demetrius was deceived by the name. For, according to the registers, from the Persian to the end of the Peloponnesian war, there were only two of the name of Aristides who carried the prize in the choral exhibitions, and neither of them was the son of Lysimachus: for the former was son to Xenophilus, and the latter lived long after, as appears from the characters, which were not in use till after Euclid's time, and likewise from the name of the poet Archestratus, which is not found in any record or author during the Persian wars; whereas mention is often made of a poet of that name, who brought his pieces upon the stage in the time of the Peloponnesian war.\* But this argument of Panætius should not be admitted without farther examination.

And as for the Ostracism, every man that was dis-

\* It is very possible for a poet, in his own life-time, to have his plays acted in the Peloponnesian war, and in the Persian too. And therefore the inscription which Plutarch mentions might belong to our Aristides.



tinguished by birth, reputation, or eloquence, was liable to suffer by it; since it fell even upon Damon, præceptor to Pericles, because he was looked upon as a man of superior parts and policy. Besides, Idomeneus tells us, that Aristides came to be *Archon* not by lot, but by particular appointment of the people. And if he was *Archon* after the battle of Plataea,\* as Demetrius himself writes, it is very probable that, after such great actions, and so much glory, his virtue might gain him that office which others obtained by their wealth. But it is plain that Demetrius laboured to take the imputation of poverty, as if it were some great evil, not only from Aristides, but from Socrates too; who he says, besides a house of his own, had seventy minæ† at interest in the hands of Crito.

Aristides had a particular friendship for Clisthenes, who settled the popular government at Athens, after the expulsion of the tyrants;‡ yet he had, at the same time, the greatest veneration for Lycurgus, the Lacedæmonian, whom he considered as the most excellent of lawgivers: and this led him to be a favourer of aristocracy, in which he was always opposed by Themistocles, who listed in the party of the commons. Some, indeed, say, that being brought up together from their infancy, when boys, they were always at variance, not only in serious matters, but in their very sports and diversions: and their tem-

\* But Demetrius was mistaken; for Aristides was never Archon after the battle of Plataea, which was fought in the second year of the seventy-fifth olympiad. In the list of Archons the name of Aristides is found in the fourth year of the seventy-second olympiad, a year or two after the battle of Marathon, and in the second year of the seventy-fourth olympiad, four years before the battle of Plataea.

† But Socrates himself declares, in his apology to his judges, that, considering his poverty, they could not in reason fine him more than one mina.

‡ These tyrants were the Pisistratidæ, who were driven out about the sixty-sixth olympiad.



pers were discovered from the first by that opposition. The one was insinuating daring, and artful, variable, and at the same time impetuous in his pursuits: the other was solid and steady, inflexibly just, incapable of using any falsehood, flattery, or deceit, even at play. But Aristo of Chios\* writes, that their enmity, which afterwards came to such a height, took its rise from love.

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Themistocles, who was an agreeable companion, gained many friends, and became respectable in the strength of his popularity. Thus when he was told, that “he would govern the Athenians extremely well, if he would but do it without respect of persons,” he said, “May I never sit on a tribunal where my friends shall not find more favour from me than strangers.”

Aristides, on the contrary, took a method of his own in conducting the administration. For he would neither consent to any injustice to oblige his friends, nor yet disoblige them, by denying all they asked: and as he saw that many, depending on their interest and friends, were tempted to do unwarrantable things, he never endeavoured after that support, but declared, that a good citizen should place his whole strength and security in advising and doing what is just and right. Nevertheless, as Themistocles made many rash and dangerous motions, and endeavoured to break his measures in every step of government, he was obliged to oppose him as much in his turn, partly by way of self-defence, and partly to lessen his power, which daily increased through the favour of the people. For he thought it better that the commonwealth should miss some advantages, than that Themistocles, by gaining his point, should come at

\* Dacier thinks it was rather Aristo of Ceos, because, as a peripatetic, he was more likely to write treatises of love than the other, who was a stoic.



last to carry all before him. Hence it was, that one day when Themistocles proposed something advantageous to the public, Aristides opposed it strenuously, and with success; but as he went out of the assembly, he could not forbear saying, "The affairs of the Athenians cannot prosper, except they throw Themistocles and myself into the barathrum." \* Another time, when he intended to propose a decree to the people, he found it strongly disputed in the council, but at last he prevailed; perceiving its inconveniences, however, by the preceding debates, he put a stop to it, just as the president was going to put it to the question, in order to its being confirmed by the people. Very often he offered his sentiments by a third person, lest, by the opposition of Themistocles to him, the public good should be obstructed.

In the changes and fluctuations of the government, his firmness was wonderful. Neither elated with honours, nor discomposed with ill success, he went on in a moderate and steady manner, persuaded that his country had a claim to his services, without the reward either of honour or profit. Hence it was that when those verses of Æschylus concerning Amphiaraus were repeated on the stage,

To be, and not to seem, is this man's maxim;  
His mind reposes on its proper wisdom,  
And wants no other praise,† —————

the eyes of the people in general were fixed on Aristides, as the man to whom this great encomium was most applicable. Indeed, he was capable of resisting the suggestions, not only of favour and affection, but of resentment and enmity too, wherever justice

\* The barathrum was a very deep pit, into which condemned persons were thrown headlong.

† These verses are to be found in the "Siege of Thebes by the Seven Captains." They are a description of the genius and temper of Amphiaraus, which the courier, who brings an account of the enemy's attacks, and of the characters of the commanders, gives to Eteocles.



was concerned. For it is said, that when he was carrying on a prosecution against his enemy, and after he had brought his charge, the judges were going to pass sentence, without hearing the person accused, he rose up to his assistance, entreating that he might be heard, and have the privilege which the laws allowed. Another time when he himself sat judge between two private persons, and one of them observed, "That his adversary had done many injuries to Aristides:" "Tell me not that," said he, "but what injury he has done to thee; for it is thy cause I am judging, not my own."

When appointed public treasurer, he made it appear, that not only those of his time, but the officers that preceded him, had applied a great deal of the public money to their own use; and particularly Themistocles;

——— For he, with all his wisdom,  
Could ne'er command his hands.

For this reason, when Aristides gave in his accounts, Themistocles raised a strong party against him, accused him of misapplying the public money, and (according to Idomeneus) got him condemned. But the principal and most respectable of the citizens,\* incensed at this treatment of Aristides, interposed and prevailed, not only that he might be excused the fine, but chosen again chief treasurer. He now pretended that his former proceedings were too strict, and carrying a gentler hand over those that acted under him, suffered them to pilfer the public money, without seeming to find them out, or reckoning strictly with them: so that fattening on the spoils of their country, they lavished their praises on Aristides, and heartily espousing his cause, begged of the people to continue him in the same department. But when the Athenians were going to confirm it to him

\* The court of Areopagus interposed in his behalf.



by their suffrages, he gave them this severe rebuke: "While I managed your finances with all the fidelity of an honest man, I was loaded with calumnies; and now when I suffer them to be a prey to public robbers, I am become a mighty good citizen: but I assure you, I am more ashamed of the present honour, than I was of the former disgrace; and it is with indignation and concern that I see you esteem it more meritorious to oblige ill men, than to take proper care of the public revenue." By thus speaking and discovering their frauds, he silenced those that recommended him with so much noise and bustle, but at the same time received the truest and most valuable praise from the worthiest of the citizens.

About this time Datis, who was sent by Darius, under pretence of chastising the Athenians for burning Sardis, but in reality to subdue all Greece, arrived with his fleet at Marathon, and began to ravage the neighbouring country. Among the generals to whom the Athenians gave the management of this war, Miltiades was first in dignity, and the next to him in reputation and authority was Aristides. In a council of war that was then held, Miltiades voted for giving the enemy battle,\* and Aristides seconding him, added no little weight to his scale. The generals commanded by turns, each his day; but when it came to Aristides's turn, he gave up his right to Miltiades, thus showing his colleagues that it was no disgrace to follow the directions of the wise, but that, on the contrary, it answered several honourable and salutary purposes. By this means, he laid the spirit of contention, and bringing them to agree in, and follow the best opinion, he strengthened the

\* According to Herodotus (l.vi. c. 109) the generals were very much divided in their opinions; some were for fighting, others not; Miltiades observing this, addressed himself to Callimachus of Aphidnæ, who was *Polemarch*, and whose power was equal to that of all the other generals. Callimachus, whose voice was decisive according to the Athenian laws, joined directly with Miltiades, and declared for giving battle immediately. Possibly Aristides might have some share in bringing Callimachus to this resolution.



hands of Miltiades, who now had the absolute and undivided command; the other generals no longer insisting on their days, but entirely submitting to his orders.\*

In this battle, the main body of the Athenian army was pressed the hardest,† because there, for a long time, the barbarians made their greatest efforts against the tribes Leontis and Antiochis; and Themistocles and Aristides, who belonged to those tribes, exerting themselves, at the head of them, with all the spirit of emulation, behaved with so much vigour, that the enemy were put to flight, and driven back to their ships. But the Greeks perceiving that the barbarians, instead of sailing to the isles, to return to Asia, were driven in by the wind and currents towards Attica,‡ and fearing that Athens, unprovided for its defence, might become an easy prey to them, marched home with nine tribes, and used such expedition, that they reached the city in one day.§

Aristides was left at Marathon with his own tribe, to guard the prisoners and the spoils; and he did not disappoint the public opinion; for though there was much gold and silver scattered about, and rich garments and other booty in abundance were found in

\* Yet he would not fight until his own proper day of command came about, for fear that through any latent sparks of jealousy and envy, any of the generals should be led not to do their duty.

† The Athenians and Plataeans fought with such obstinate valour on the right and left, that the barbarians were forced to fly on both sides. The Persians and Sacæ, however, perceiving that the Athenian centre was weak, charged with such force, that they broke through it: this those on the right and left perceived, but did not attempt to succour it, till they had put to flight both the wings of the Persian army; then bending the points of the wings towards their own centre, they inclosed the hitherto victorious Persians, and cut them to pieces.

‡ It was reported in those times, that the Alcmeonidæ encouraged the Persians to make a second attempt, by holding up, as they approached the shore, a shield for a signal. However it was, the Persian fleet endeavoured to double the cape of Junium, with a view to surprise the city of Athens before the army could return. HERODOT. l. vi. c. 101, &c.

§ From Marathon to Athens is about forty miles.



the tents and ships which they had taken, yet he neither had an inclination to touch any thing himself, nor permitted others to do it. But notwithstanding his care, some enriched themselves unknown to him : among whom was Callias the torch-bearer.\* One of the barbarians happening to meet him in a private place, and probably taking him for a king, on account of his long hair and the fillet which he wore,† prostrated himself before him ; and taking him by the hand, showed him a great quantity of gold that was hid in a well. But Callias, not less cruel than unjust, took away the gold, and then killed the man that had given him information of it, lest he should mention the thing to others. Hence, they tell us, it was, that the comic writers called his family *Lacopluti*, i. e. *enriched by the well*, jesting upon the place from whence their founder drew his wealth.

The year following, Aristides was appointed to the office of *Archon*, which gave his name to that year ; though, according to Demetrius the Phalerean, he was not archon till after the battle of Plataea, a little before his death. But in the public registers we find not any of the name of Aristides in the list of archons, after Xanthippides, in whose archonship Mardonius was beaten at Plataea ; whereas his name is on record immediately after Phanippus,‡ who was archon the same year that the battle was gained at Marathon.

Of all the virtues of Aristides, the people were

\* Torch-bearers, styled in Greek *deduchi*, were persons dedicated to the service of the gods, and admitted even to the most sacred mysteries. Pausanias speaks of it as a great happiness to a woman, that she had seen her brother, her husband, and her son, successively enjoy this office.

† Both priests and kings wore fillets or diadems. It is well known, that in ancient times those two dignities were generally vested in the same person ; and such nations as abolished the kingly office, kept the title of king for a person who ministered in the principal functions of the priesthood.

‡ From the registers it appears, that Phanippus was archon in the third year of the seventy-second olympiad. It was therefore in this year that the battle of Marathon was fought, four hundred and ninety years before the birth of Christ.



most struck with his justice, because the public utility was the most promoted by it. Thus he, though a poor man and a commoner, gained the royal and divine title of *the Just*, which kings and tyrants have never been fond of. It has been their ambition to be styled *Poliorceti, takers of cities; Cerauni, thunderbolts; Nicanors, conquerors*. Nay, some have chosen to be called *Eagles* and *Vultures*, preferring the fame of power to that of virtue. Whereas the Deity himself, to whom they want to be compared, is distinguished by three things, immortality, power, and virtue; and of these, virtue is the most excellent and divine. For space and the elements are everlasting, earthquakes, lightning, storms, and torrents have an amazing power; but as for justice, nothing participates of that, without reasoning and thinking of God. And whereas men entertain three different sentiments with respect to the gods, namely, admiration, fear, and esteem, it should seem that they admire and think them happy by reason of their freedom from death and corruption, that they fear and dread them because of their power and sovereignty, and that they love, honour, and reverence them for their justice. Yet, though affected these three different ways, they desire only the two first properties of the Deity; immortality which our nature will not admit of, and power which depends chiefly upon fortune; while they foolishly neglect virtue, the only divine quality in their power; not considering that it is justice alone, which makes the life of those flourish most in prosperity and high stations, heavenly and divine, while injustice renders it grovelling and brutal.

Aristides at first was loved and respected for his surname of *the Just*, and afterwards envied as much; the latter, chiefly by the management of Themistocles, who gave it out among the people, that Aristides had abolished the courts of judicature, by drawing the arbitration of all causes to himself, and so was insensibly gaining sovereign power, though without guards and the other ensigns of it. The



people, elevated with the late victory, thought themselves capable of every thing, and the highest respect little enough for them. Uneasy therefore at finding that any one citizen rose to such extraordinary honour and distinction, they assembled at Athens from all the towns in Attica, and banished Aristides by the Ostracism; disguising their envy of his character under the specious pretence of guarding against tyranny.

For the *Ostracism* was not a punishment for crimes and misdemeanors, but was very decently called an humbling and lessening of some excessive influence and power. In reality it was a mild gratification of envy; for by this means, whoever was offended at the growing greatness of another, discharged his spleen, not in any thing cruel or inhuman, but only in voting a ten years' banishment. But when it once began to fall upon mean and profligate persons, it was for ever after entirely laid aside; Hyperbolus being the last that was exiled by it.

The reason of its turning upon such a wretch was this. Alcibiades and Nicias, who were persons of the greatest interest in Athens, had each his party; but perceiving that the people were going to proceed to the Ostracism, and that one of them was likely to suffer by it, they consulted together, and joining interests, caused it to fall upon Hyperbolus. Hereupon the people, full of indignation at finding this kind of punishment dishonoured and turned into ridicule, abolished it entirely.

The Ostracism (to give a summary account of it) was conducted in the following manner. Every citizen took a piece of a broken pot, or a shell, on which he wrote the name of the person he wanted to have banished, and carried it to a part of the market-place that was enclosed with wooden rails. The magistrates then counted the number of the shells: and if it amounted not to six thousand, the Ostracism stood for nothing: if it did, they sorted



the shells, and the person whose name was found on the greatest number, was declared an exile for ten years, but with permission to enjoy his estate.

At the time that Aristides was banished, when the people were inscribing the names on the shells, it is reported that an illiterate burgher came to Aristides, whom he took for some ordinary person, and giving him his shell, desired him to write Aristides upon it. The good man, surprised at the adventure, asked him "Whether Aristides had ever injured him?" "No," said he, "nor do I even know him; but it vexes me to hear him every where called *the Just*." Aristides made no answer, but took the shell, and having written his own name upon it, returned it to the man. When he quitted Athens, he lifted up his hands towards heaven, and agreeably to his character, made a prayer, very different from that of Achilles; namely, "That the people of Athens might never see the day, which should force them to remember Aristides."

Three years after, when Xerxes was passing through Thessaly and Bœotia by long marches to Attica, the Athenians reversed this decree, and by a public ordinance recalled all the exiles. The principal inducement was their fear of Aristides; for they were apprehensive that he would join the enemy, corrupt great part of the citizens, and draw them over to the interests of the barbarians. But they little knew the man. Before this ordinance of theirs, he had been exciting and encouraging the Greeks to defend their liberty; and after it, when Themistocles was appointed to the command of the Athenian forces, he assisted him both with his person and counsel; not disdaining to raise his worst enemy to the highest pitch of glory, for the public good. For when Eurybiades, the commander in chief, had resolved to quit Salamis,\* and before he could put his

\* Eurybiades was for standing away for the gulf of Corinth, that



purpose into execution, the enemy's fleet, taking advantage of the night, had surrounded the islands, and in a manner blocked up the straits, without any one's perceiving that the confederates were so hemmed in. Aristides sailed the same night from Ægina, and passed with the utmost danger through the Persian fleet. As soon as he reached the tent of Themistocles, he desired to speak with him in private, and then addressed him in these terms. "You and I, Themistocles, if we are wise, shall now bid adieu to our vain and childish disputes, and enter upon a nobler and more salutary contention, striving which of us shall contribute most to the preservation of Greece; you, in doing the duty of a general, and I in assisting you with my service and advice. I find that you alone have hit upon the best measures, in advising to come immediately to an engagement in the straits. And though the allies oppose your design, the enemy promote it. For the sea on all sides is covered with their ships, so that the Greeks, whether they will or not, must come to action, and acquit themselves like men, there being no room left for flight."

Themistocles answered, "I could have wished, Aristides, that you had not been beforehand with me in this noble emulation; but I will endeavour to outdo this happy beginning of yours by my future actions." At the same time he acquainted him with the stratagem he had contrived to ensnare the barbarians,\* and then desired him to go and make it appear to Eurybiades, that there could be no safety for them without venturing a sea-fight there; for he

he might be near the land army. But Themistocles clearly saw, that in the straits of Salamis they could fight the Persian fleet, which was so vastly superior in numbers, with much greater advantage than in the gulf of Corinth, where there was an open sea.

\* The stratagem was to send one to acquaint the enemy that the Greeks were going to quit the straits of Salamis, and therefore if the Persians were desirous to crush them at once, they must fall upon them immediately before they dispersed.



knew that Aristides had much greater influence over him than he. In the council of war assembled on this occasion, Cleocritus the Corinthian said to Themistocles, "Your advice is not agreeable to Aristides, since he is here present and says nothing." "You are mistaken," said Aristides, "for I should not have been silent, had not the counsel of Themistocles been the most eligible. And I now hold my peace, not out of regard to the man, but because I approve his sentiments." This, therefore, was what the Grecian officers fixed upon.

Aristides then perceiving that the little island of Psyttalia, which lies in the straits over against Salamis, was full of the enemy's troops, put on board the small transports a number of the bravest and most resolute of his countrymen, and made a descent upon the island; where he attacked the barbarians with such fury that they were all cut in pieces, except some of the principal persons who were made prisoners. Among the latter were three sons of Sandauce the king's sister, whom he sent immediately to Themistocles; and it is said, that by the direction of Euphrantides the diviner, in pursuance of some oracle, they were all sacrificed to Bacchus *Omestes*. After this, Aristides placed a strong guard round the island, to take notice of such as were driven ashore there, that so none of his friends might perish, nor any of the enemy escape. For about Psyttalia the battle raged the most,\* and the greatest efforts were made; as appears from the trophy erected there.

When the battle was over, Themistocles, by way of sounding Aristides, said, "That great things were already done, but greater still remained; for they might conquer Asia in Europe, by making all the sail they could to the Hellespont, to break down the bridge." But Aristides exclaimed against the

\* The battle of Salamis was fought in the year before Christ 480.



proposal, and bade him think no more of it, but rather consider and inquire what would be the speediest method of driving the Persians out of Greece, lest, finding himself shut up with such immense forces, and no way left to escape, necessity might bring him to fight with the most desperate courage. Hereupon, Themistocles sent to Xerxes the second time, by the Eunuch Arnaces, one of the prisoners,\* to acquaint him privately, that the Greeks were strongly inclined to make the best of their way to the Hellespont to destroy the bridge which he had left there; but that in order to save his royal person, Themistocles was using his best endeavours to dissuade them from it. Xerxes, terrified at this news, made all possible haste to the Hellespont; leaving Mardonius behind him with the land forces, consisting of three hundred thousand of his best troops.

In the strength of such an army Mardonius was very formidable; and the fears of the Greeks were heightened by his menacing letters, which were in this style; "At sea in your wooden towers you have defeated landmen, unpractised at the oar; but there are still the wide plains of Thessaly and the fields of Bœotia, where both horse and foot may fight to the best advantage." To the Athenians he wrote in particular, being authorized by the king to assure them, that their city should be rebuilt, large sums bestowed upon them, and the sovereignty of Greece put in their hands, if they would take no farther share in the war.†

As soon as the Lacedæmonians had intelligence of these proposals, they were greatly alarmed, and sent ambassadors to Athens, to entreat the people

\* This expedient answered two purposes. By it he drove the king of Persia out of Europe; and in appearance conferred an obligation upon him, which might be remembered to the advantage of Themistocles, when he came to have occasion for it.

† He made these proposals by Alexander, king of Macedon, who delivered them in a set speech.



to send their wives and children to Sparta,\* and to accept from them what was necessary for the support of such as were in years: for the Athenians having lost both their city and their country, were certainly in great distress. Yet when they had heard what the ambassadors had to say, they gave them such an answer, by the direction of Aristides, as can never be sufficiently admired. They said, "They could easily forgive their enemies for thinking that every thing was to be purchased with silver and gold, because they had no idea of any thing more excellent: but they could not help being displeased that the Lacedæmonians should regard only their present poverty and distress, and, forgetful of their virtue and magnanimity, call upon them to fight for Greece for the paltry consideration of a supply of provisions." Aristides having drawn up his answer in the form of a decree, and called all the ambassadors to an audience in full assembly, bade those of Sparta tell the Lacedæmonians, *That the people of Athens would not take all the gold either above or under ground for the liberties of Greece.*

As for those of Mardonius, he pointed to the sun, and told them, "As long as this luminary shines, so long will the Athenians carry on war with the Persians for their country which has been laid waste, and for their temples which have been profaned and burned." He likewise procured an order, that the priests should solemnly execrate all that should dare to propose an embassy to the Medes, or talk of deserting the alliance of Greece.

When Mardonius had entered Attica the second

\* They did not propose to the Athenians to send their wives and children to Sparta, but only offered to maintain them during the war. They observed, that the original quarrel was between the Persians and Athenians: that the Athenians were always wont to be the foremost in the cause of liberty: and that there was no reason to believe the Persians would observe any terms with a people they hated.



time, the Athenians retired again to Salamis. And Aristides, who on that occasion went ambassador to Sparta, complained to the Lacedæmonians of their delay and neglect in abandoning Athens once more to the barbarians ; and pressed them to hasten to the succour of that part of Greece which was not yet fallen into the enemy's hands. The *Ephori* gave him the hearing,\* but seemed attentive to nothing but mirth and diversion, for it was the festival of Hyacinthus.† At night, however, they selected five thousand Spartans, with orders to take each seven *helots* with him, and to march before morning, unknown to the Athenians. When Aristides came to make his remonstrances again, they smiled, and told him, “ That he did but trifle or dream, since their army was at that time as far as Orestium, on their march against the foreigners ;” for so the Lacedæmonians called the barbarians. Aristides told them, “ It was not a time to jest, or to put their stratagems in practice upon their friends, but on their enemies.” This is the account Idomeneus gives of the matter ; but in Aristides's decree, Cimon, Xanthippus, and Myronides are said to have gone upon the embassy, and not Aristides.

Aristides, however, was appointed to command the Athenians in the battle that was expected, and marched with eight thousand foot to Plataea. There Pausanias, who was commander in chief of all the confederates, joined him with his Spartans, and the other Grecian troops arrived daily in great numbers. The Persian army which was encamped along the river Asopas, occupied an immense tract of ground : and they had fortified a spot ten furlongs square, for their baggage and other things of value.

\* They put off their answer from time to time, until they had gained ten days ; in which time they finished the wall across the Isthmus, which secured them against the barbarians.

† Among the Spartans the feast of Hyacinthus lasted three days ; the first and last were days of sorrow and mourning for Hyacinthus's death, but the second was a day of rejoicing, celebrated with all manner of diversions.



In the Grecian army there was a diviner of Elis, named Tisamenus,\* who foretold certain victory to Pausanias and the Greeks in general, if they did not attack the enemy, but stood only upon the defensive. And Aristides, having sent to Delphi, to inquire of the oracle, received this answer: "The Athenians shall be victorious, if they address their prayers to Jupiter, to Juno of Cithæron, to Pan, and to the nymphs Sphragitides;† if they sacrifice to the heroes Androcrates, Leucon, Pisander, Democrates, Hypsion, Actæon, and Polydius; and if they fight only in their own country, on the plain of the Eleusinian Ceres and of Proserpine." This oracle perplexed Aristides not a little. For the heroes to whom he was commanded to sacrifice were the ancestors of the Plataeans, and the cave of the nymphs Sphragitides in one of the summits of mount Cithæron, opposite the quarter where the sun sets in the summer; and it is said, in that cave there was formerly an oracle, by which many who dwelt in those parts were inspired, and therefore called *Nympholepti*. On the other hand, to have the promise of victory only on condition of fighting in their own country, on the plain of the Eleusinian Ceres, was calling the Athenians back to Attica, and removing the seat of war.

In the mean time Arimnestus, general of the Plataeans, dreamt that Jupiter *the Preserver* asked him, "What the Greeks had determined to do?" To which he answered, "To-morrow they will decamp and

\* The oracle having promised Tisamenus five great victories; the Lacedæmonians were desirous of having him for their diviner, but he demanded to be admitted a citizen of Sparta, which was refused at first. However, upon the approach of the Persians, he obtained that privilege both for himself and his brother Hegias. This would scarce have been worth mentioning, had not those two been the only strangers that were ever made citizens of Sparta.

† The nymphs of mount Cithæron were called Sphragitides from the cave Sphragidion, which probably had its name from the silence observed in it by the persons who went thither to be inspired; silence being described by *sealing* the lips.



march to Eleusis, to fight the barbarians there, agreeably to the oracle." The god replied, "they quite mistake its meaning; for the place intended by the oracle is in the environs of Plataea, and if they seek for it, they will find it." The matter being so clearly revealed to Arimnestus, as soon as he awoke he sent for the oldest and most experienced of his countrymen; and having advised with them and made the best inquiry, he found that near Husiæ, at the foot of mount Cithæron, there was an ancient temple called the temple of the Eleusinian Ceres and Proserpine. He immediately conducted Aristides to the place, which appeared to be very commodious for drawing up an army of foot, that was deficient in cavalry, because the bottom of mount Cithæron extending as far as the temple, made the extremities of the field on that side inaccessible to the horse. In that place was also the chapel of the hero Androcrates, quite covered with thick bushes and trees. And that nothing might be wanting to fulfil the oracle, and confirm their hopes of victory, the Plataeans resolved, at the motion of Arimnestus, to remove their boundaries between their country and Attica, and, for the sake of Greece, to make a grant of those lands to the Athenians, that, according to the oracle, they might fight in their own territories. This generosity of the Plataeans gained them so much renown, that many years after, when Alexander had conquered Asia, he ordered the walls of Plataea to be rebuilt, and proclamation to be made by an herald at the olympic games, "That the king granted the Plataeans this favour on account of their virtue and generosity, in giving up their lands to the Greeks in the Persian war, and otherwise behaving with the greatest vigour and spirit."

When the confederates came to have their several posts assigned them, there was a great dispute between the Tegetæ and the Athenians: the Tegetæ insisting, that, as the Lacedæmonians were posted in the right wing, the left belonged to them, and, in sup-



port of their claim, setting forth the gallant actions of their ancestors. As the Athenians expressed great indignation at this, Aristides stepped forward and said, "The time will not permit us to contest with the Tegetæ the renown of their ancestors and their personal bravery : but to the Spartans and to the rest of the Greeks we say, that the post neither gives valour nor takes it away ; and whatever post you assign us, we will endeavour to do honour to it, and take care to reflect no disgrace upon our former achievements. For we are not come hither to quarrel with our allies, but to fight our enemies ; not to make encomiums upon our forefathers, but to approve our own courage in the cause of Greece. And the battle will soon show what value our country should set on every state, every general, and private man." After this speech, the council of war declared in favour of the Athenians, and gave them the command of the left wing.

While the fate of Greece was in suspense, the affairs of the Athenians were in a very dangerous posture. For those of the best families and fortunes, being reduced by the war, and seeing their authority in the state and their distinction gone with their wealth, and others rising to honours and employments, assembled privately in a house at Plataea, and conspired to abolish the democracy ; and, if that did not succeed, to ruin all Greece, and betray it to the barbarians. When Aristides got intelligence of the conspiracy thus entered into in the camp, and found that numbers were corrupted, he was greatly alarmed at its happening at such a crisis, and unresolved at first how to proceed. At length he determined neither to leave the matter uninquired into, nor yet to sift it thoroughly, because he knew not how far the contagion had spread, and thought it advisable to sacrifice justice, in some degree, to the public good, by forbearing to prosecute many that were guilty. He, therefore, caused eight persons only to be appre-



hended, and of those eight no more than two, who were most guilty, to be proceeded against; Æschines of Lampra, and Agesias of Acharnæ: and even they made their escape during the prosecution. As for the rest he discharged them: and gave them, and all that were concerned in the plot, opportunity to recover their spirits and change their sentiments, as they might imagine that nothing was made out against them: but he admonished them at the same time, "That the battle was the great tribunal, where they might clear themselves of the charge, and show that they had never followed any counsels but such as were just and useful to their country."

After this,\* Mardonius, to make a trial of the Greeks, ordered his cavalry, in which he was strongest, to skirmish with them. The Greeks were all encamped at the foot of mount Cithæron, in strong and stony places; except the Megarentians, who to the number of three thousand, were posted on the plain, and by this means suffered much by the enemy's horse, who charged them on every side. Unable to stand against such superior numbers, they despatched a messenger to Pausanias, for assistance. Pausanias hearing their request, and seeing the camp of the Megarentians darkened with the shower of darts and arrows, and that they were forced to contract themselves within a narrow compass, was at a loss what to resolve on; for he knew that his heavy-armed Spartans were not fit to act against cavalry. He endeavoured, therefore, to awaken the emulation of the generals and other officers that were about him, that they might make it a point of honour voluntarily to un-

\* The battle of Plataea was fought in the year before Christ 479, the year after that of Salamis. Herodotus was then about nine or ten years old, and had his accounts from persons that were present in the battle. And he informs us, that the circumstance here related by Plutarch happened before the Greeks left their camp at Erythræ, in order to encamp round to Plataea, and before the contest between the Tegetæ and the Athenians. Lib. ix. 29, 30, &c.



dertake the defence and succour of the Megarensians. But they all declined it, except Aristides, who made an offer of his Athenians, and gave immediate orders to Olympiodorus, one of the most active of his officers, to advance with his select band of three hundred men and some archers intermixed. They were all ready in a moment, and ran to attack the barbarians. Masistius, general of the Persian horse, a man distinguished for his strength and graceful mien, no sooner saw them advancing, than he spurred his horse against them. The Athenians received him with great firmness, and a sharp conflict ensued; for they considered this as a specimen of the success of the whole battle. At last Masistius's horse was wounded with an arrow, and threw his rider, who could not recover himself because of the weight of his armour, nor yet be easily slain by the Athenians that strove which should do it first, because not only his body and his head, but his legs and arms, were covered with plates of gold, brass, and iron. But the vizor of his helmet leaving part of his face open, one of them pierced him in the eye with the staff of his spear, and so dispatched him. The Persians then left the body and fled.

The importance of this achievement appeared to the Greeks, not by the number of their enemies lying dead upon the field, for that was but small, but by the mourning of the barbarians, who, in their grief for Masistius, cut off their hair, and the manes of their horses and mules, and filled all the plain with their cries and groans, as having lost the man that was next to Mardonius in courage and authority.

After this engagement with the Persian cavalry, both sides forbore the combat a long time; for the diviners, from the entrails of the victims, equally assured the Persians and the Greeks of victory, if they stood upon the defensive, and threatened a total defeat to the aggressors. But at length Mardonius, seeing but a few days' provision left, and that the Grecian forces increased daily by the arrival of fresh



troops, grew uneasy at the delay, and resolved to pass the Asopus next morning by break of day, and fall upon the Greeks, whom he hoped to find unprepared. For this purpose he gave his orders over night. But at midnight a man on horseback softly approached the Grecian camp, and, addressing himself to the sentinels, bade them call Aristides the Athenian general to him. Aristides came immediately, and the unknown person said, "I am Alexander, king of Macedon, who, for the friendship I bear you, have exposed myself to the greatest dangers, to prevent your fighting under the disadvantage of a surprise. For Mardonius will give you battle to-morrow; not that he is induced to it by any well-grounded hope or prospect of success, but by the scarcity of provisions; for the soothsayers by their ominous sacrifices and ill-boding oracles endeavour to divert him from it; but necessity forces him either to hazard a battle, or to sit still, and see his whole army perish through want." Alexander, having thus opened himself to Aristides, desired him to take notice and avail himself of the intelligence, but not to communicate it to any other person;\* Aristides however thought it wrong to conceal it from Pausanias, who was commander in chief: but he promised not to mention the thing to any one besides, until after the battle; and assured him at the same time, that if the Greeks proved victorious, the whole army should be acquainted with this kindness and glorious daring conduct of Alexander.

The king of Macedon, having despatched this affair, returned, and Aristides went immediately to the tent of Pausanias, and laid the whole before him; whereupon the other officers were sent for, and ordered to put the troops under arms, and have them ready for battle. At the same time, according to Herodotus, Pausanias informed Aristides of his design to alter

\* According to Herodotus, Alexander had excepted Pausanias out of this charge of secrecy; and this is most probable because Pausanias was commander in chief.



the disposition of the army, by removing the Athenians from the left wing to the right, and setting them to oppose the Persians: against whom they would act with the more bravery, because they had made proof of their manner of fighting; and with greater assurance of success, because they had already succeeded. As for the left wing, which would have to do with those Greeks that had embraced the Median interest, he intended to command there himself.\* The other Athenian officers thought Pausanias carried it with a partial and high hand, in moving them up and down, like so many *helots*, at his pleasure, to face the boldest of the enemy's troops, while he left the rest of the confederates in their posts. But Aristides told them, they were under a great mistake. "You contended," said he, "a few days ago with the Tegetæ for the command of the left wing, and valued yourselves upon the preference; and now, when the Spartans voluntarily offer you the right wing, which is in effect giving up to you the command of the whole army, you are neither pleased with the honour, nor sensible of the advantage, of not being obliged to fight against your countrymen and those who have the same origin with you, but against barbarians, your natural enemies."

These words had such an effect upon the Athenians, that they readily agreed to change posts with the Spartans, and nothing was heard among them but mutual exhortations to act with bravery. They observed, "That the enemy brought neither better arms nor bolder hearts than they had at Marathon, but came with the same bows, the same embroidered vests and profusion of gold, the same effeminate bodies, and the same unmanly souls. For our part, continued they, we have the same weapons and strength of body, together with additional spirits

\* Herodotus says the contrary; namely, that all the Athenian officers were ambitious of that post, but did not think proper to propose it for fear of disobliging the Spartans.



from our victories ; and we do not, like them, fight for a tract of land or a single city, but for the trophies of Marathon and Salamis, that the people of Athens, and not Miltiades and fortune, may have the glory of them.”

While they were thus encouraging each other, they hastened to their new post. But the Thebans being informed of it by deserters, sent and acquainted Mardonius ; who, either out of fear of the Athenians, or from an ambition to try his strength with the Lacedæmonians, immediately moved the Persians to his right wing, and the Greeks that were of his party to the left, opposite to the Athenians. This change in the disposition of the enemy’s army being known, Pausanias made another movement, and passed to the right ; which Mardonius perceiving, returned to the left, and so still faced the Lacedæmonians. Thus the day passed without any action at all. In the evening the Grecians held a council of war, in which they determined to decamp, and take possession of a place more commodious for water, because the springs of their present camp were disturbed and spoiled by the enemy’s horse.

When night was come,\* and the officers began to march at the head of their troops to the place marked out for a new camp, the soldiers followed unwillingly, and could not without great difficulty be kept together ; for they were no sooner out of their first entrenchments, than many of them made off to the city of Plataea, and, either dispersing there, or pitching their tents without any regard to discipline, were in the utmost confusion. It happened that the Lacedæmonians alone were left behind, though against their will. For Amompharetus, an intrepid man, who had long been eager to engage, and uneasy to see the

\* On this occasion Mardonius did not fail to insult Artabazus, reproaching him with his cowardly prudence, and the false notion he had conceived of the Lacedæmonians, who, as he pretended, never fled before the enemy.



battle so often put off and delayed, plainly called this decampment a disgraceful flight, and declared, "He would not quit his post, but remain there with his troops, and stand it out against Mardonius." And when Pausanias represented to him, that this measure was taken in pursuance of the counsel and determination of the confederates, he took up a large stone with both his hands, and throwing it at Pausanias's feet, said, "This is my ballot for a battle; and I despise the timid counsels and resolves of others." Pausanias was at a loss what to do, but at last sent to the Athenians who by this time were advancing, and desired them to halt a little, that they might all proceed in a body: at the same time he marched with the rest of the troops towards Plataea, hoping by that means to draw Amompharetus after him.

By this time it was day, and Mardonius,\* who was not ignorant that the Greeks had quitted their camp, put his army in order of battle, and bore down upon the Spartans; the barbarians setting up such shouts, and clanking their arms in such a manner, as if they expected to have only the plundering of fugitives, and not a battle. And indeed it was like to have been so. For though Pausanias, upon seeing this motion of Mardonius, stopped, and ordered every one to his post, yet, either confused with his resentment against Amompharetus, or with the sudden attack of the Persians, he forgot to give his troops the word:

\* Having passed the Asopus, he came up with the Lacedæmonians and Tegetæ, who were separated from the body of the army, to the number of fifty-three thousand. Pausanias, finding himself thus attacked by the whole Persian army, despatched a messenger to acquaint the Athenians, who had taken another route, with the danger he was in. The Athenians immediately put themselves on their march to succour their distressed allies; but were attacked, and, to their great regret, prevented by those Greeks who sided with the Persians. The battle being thus fought in two different places, the Spartans were the first who broke into the centre of the Persian army, and, after a most obstinate resistance, put them to flight.



and for that reason they neither engaged readily, nor in a body, but continued scattered in small parties, even after the fight was begun.

Pausanias in the mean time offered sacrifice ; but seeing no auspicious tokens, he commanded the Lacedæmonians to lay down their shields at their feet, and to stand still, and attend his orders, without opposing the enemy. After this he offered other sacrifices, the Persian cavalry still advancing. They were now within bow-shot, and some of the Spartans were wounded : among whom was Callicrates, a man that for size and beauty exceeded the whole army. This brave soldier being shot with an arrow, and ready to expire, said, “ He did not lament his death, because he came out resolved to shed his blood for Greece ; but he was sorry to die without having once drawn his sword against the enemy.”

If the terror of this situation was great, the steadiness and patience of the Spartans was wonderful : for they made no defence against the enemy’s charge, but, waiting the time of heaven and their general, suffered themselves to be wounded and slain in their ranks.

Some say, that, as Pausanias was sacrificing and praying at a little distance from the lines, certain Lydians coming suddenly upon him, seized and scattered the sacred utensils, and that Pausanias and those about him, having no weapons, drove them away with rods and scourges. And they will have it to be in imitation of this assault of the Lydians, that they celebrate a festival at Sparta now, in which boys are scourged round the altar, and which concludes with a march called the *Lydian march*.

Pausanias, extremely afflicted at these circumstances, while the priest offered sacrifice upon sacrifice, turning towards the temple of Juno, and with tears trickling from his eyes, and uplifted hands, prayed to that goddess the protectress of Cithæron, and to the other tutelar deities of the Plataeans,



“ That if the fates had not decreed that the Grecians should conquer, they might at least be permitted to sell their lives dear ; and show the enemy by their deeds, that they had brave men and experienced soldiers to deal with.”

The very moment that Pausanias was uttering this prayer, the tokens so much desired appeared in the victim, and the diviners announced him victory. Orders were immediately given the whole army to come to action, and the Spartan phalanx all at once had the appearance of some fierce animal, erecting his bristles, and preparing to exert his strength. The barbarians then saw clearly that they had to do with men who were ready to spill the last drop of their blood : and therefore, covering themselves with their targets, shot their arrows against the Lacedæmonians. The Lacedæmonians moving forward in a close compact body, fell upon the Persians, and forcing their targets from them, directed their pikes against their faces and breasts, and brought many of them to the ground. However, when they were down, they continued to give proofs of their strength and courage ; for they laid hold on the pikes with their naked hands and broke them ; and then springing up betook themselves to their swords and battle-axes, and, wresting away their enemies' shields and grappling close with them, made a long and obstinate resistance.

The Athenians all this while stood still, expecting the Lacedæmonians ; but when the noise of the battle reached them, and an officer, as we are told, despatched by Pausanias, gave them an account that the engagement was begun, they hastened to his assistance : and as they were crossing the plain towards the place where the noise was heard, the Greeks who sided with the enemy, pushed against them. As soon as Aristides saw them, he advanced a considerable way before his troops, and calling out to them with all his force, conjured them by the gods of Greece,



“To renounce this impious war, and not oppose the Athenians who were running to the succour of those that were now the first to hazard their lives for the safety of Greece.” But finding that, instead of hearkening to him, they approached in a hostile manner, he quitted his design of going to assist the Lacedæmonians, and joined battle with these Greeks, who were about five thousand in number. But the greatest part soon gave way and retreated, especially when they heard that the barbarians were put to flight. The sharpest part of this action is said to have been with the Thebans; among whom the first in quality and power, having embraced the Median interest, by their authority carried out the common people against their inclination.

The battle, thus divided into two parts, the Lacedæmonians first broke and routed the Persians; and Mardonius\* himself was slain by a Spartan named Arimnestus,† who broke his skull with a stone, as the oracle of Amphiaraus had foretold him. For Mardonius had sent a Lydian to consult this oracle, and at the same time a Carian to the cave of Trophonius.‡ The priest of Trophonius answered the Carian in his own language: but the Lydian, as he slept in the temple of Amphiaraus,§ thought he saw a minister of the god approach him, who commanded him to be gone, and, upon his refusal, threw a great stone at

\* Mardonius, mounted on a white horse, signalized himself greatly, and, at the head of a thousand chosen men, killed a great number of the enemy; but when he fell, the whole Persian army was easily routed.

† In some copies he is called Diamnestus. Arimnestus was general of the Plataeans.

‡ The cave of Trophonius was near the city of Labadia in Bœotia, above Delphi. Mardonius had sent to consult, not only this oracle, but almost all the other oracles in the country, so restless and uneasy was he about the event of the war.

§ Amphiaraus, in his lifetime, had been a great interpreter of dreams, and therefore, after his death, gave his oracles by dreams: for which purpose those that consulted him slept in his temple, on the skin of a ram, which they had sacrificed to him.



his head, so that he believed himself killed by the blow. Such is the account we have of that affair.

The barbarians, flying before the Spartans, were pursued to their camp which they had fortified with wooden walls. And soon after the Athenians routed the Thebans, killing three hundred persons of the first distinction on the spot. Just as the Thebans began to give way, news was brought that the barbarians were shut up and besieged in their wooden fortification; the Athenians, therefore, suffering the Greeks to escape, hastened to assist in the siege; and finding that the Lacedæmonians, unskilled in the storming of walls, made but a slow progress, they attacked and took the camp,\* with a prodigious slaughter of the enemy. For it is said that of three hundred thousand men, only forty thousand escaped with Artabazus:† whereas of those that fought in the cause of Greece, no more were slain than one thousand three hundred and sixty; among whom were fifty-two Athenians, all, according to Clidemus, of the tribe of Aiantis, which greatly distinguished itself in that action. And therefore, by order of the Delphic oracle, the Aiantidæ offered a yearly sacrifice of thanksgiving for the victory to the nymphs *Sphragitides*, having the expense defrayed out of the treasury. The Lacedæmonians lost ninety-one, and the Tegetæ sixteen. But it is surprising, that Herodotus should say that these were the only Greeks that engaged the barbarians, and that no other were concerned in the action. For both the number of the slain and the monuments show, that it was the

\* The spoil was immense, consisting of vast sums of money, of gold and silver cups, vessels, tables, bracelets, rich beds, and all sorts of furniture. They gave the tenth of all to Pausanias.

† Artabazus, who, from Mardonius's imprudent conduct, had but too well foreseen the misfortune that befel him, after having distinguished himself in the engagement, made a timely retreat with the forty thousand men he commanded, arrived safe at Byzantium, and from thence passed over into Asia. Beside these, only three thousand men escaped. HERODOT. l. ix. c. 31—69.



common achievement of the confederates; and the altar erected on that occasion would not have had the following inscription, if only three states had engaged, and the rest had sat still :

The Greeks, their country freed, the Persians slain,  
Have rear'd this altar on the glorious field,  
To freedom's patron, Jove.—

This battle was fought on the fourth of Boëdromion [*September*] according to the Athenian way of reckoning; but, according to the Bœotian computation, on the twenty-fourth of the month *Panemus*. And on that day there is still a general assembly of the Greeks at Plataea, and the Plataeans sacrifice to Jupiter *the deliverer*, for the victory. Nor is this difference of days in the Grecian months to be wondered at, since even now, when the science of astronomy is so much improved, the months begin and end differently in different places.

This victory went near to be the ruin of Greece. For the Athenians, unwilling to allow the Spartans the honour of the day, or to consent that they should erect the trophy, would have referred it to the decision of the sword, had not Aristides taken great pains to explain the matter, and pacify the other generals, particularly Leocrates and Myronides; persuading them to leave it to the judgment of the Greeks. A council was called accordingly, in which Theogiton gave it as his opinion, “That those two states should give up the palm to a third, if they desired to prevent a civil war.” Then Cleocritus the Corinthian rose up, and it was expected he would set forth the pretensions of Corinth to the prize of valour, as the city next in dignity to Sparta and Athens; but they were most agreeably surprised when they found that he spoke in behalf of the Plataeans, and proposed, “That, all disputes laid aside, the palm should be adjudged to them, since neither of the contending parties could be jealous of them.” Aristides was



the first to give up the point for the Athenians, and then Pausanias did the same for the Lacedæmonians.\*

The confederates thus reconciled, eighty talents were set apart for the Plataeans, with which they built a temple, and erected a statue to Minerva; adorning the temple with paintings, which to this day retain their original beauty and lustre. Both the Lacedæmonians and Athenians erected trophies separately; and sending to consult the oracle at Delphi, about the sacrifice they were to offer, they were directed by Apollo, "To build an altar to Jupiter *the deliverer*, but not to offer any sacrifice upon it till they had extinguished all the fire in the country (because it had been polluted by the barbarians,) and supplied themselves with pure fire from the common altar at Delphi." Hereupon the Grecian generals went all over the country, and caused the fires to be put out; and Euchidas a Plataean, undertaking to fetch fire, with all imaginable speed, from the altar of the god, went to Delphi, sprinkled and purified himself there with water, put a crown of laurel on his head, took fire from the altar, and then hastened back to Plataea, where he arrived before sunset, thus performing a journey of a thousand furlongs in one day. But, having saluted his fellow-citizens, and delivered the fire, he fell down on the spot, and presently expired. The Plataeans carried him to the temple of Diana, surnamed Eucleia, and buried him there, putting this short inscription on his tomb:

Here lies *Euchidas*, went to Delphi, and returned the same day.

As for *Eucleia*, the generality believe her to be Diana, and call her by that name; but some say, she

\* As to individuals, when they came to determine which had behaved with most courage, they all gave judgment in favour of Aristodemus, who was the only one that had saved himself at Thermopylae, and now wiped off the blemish of his former conduct by a glorious death.



was daughter to Hercules, and Myrto the daughter of Menœceus, and sister of Patroclus ; and that dying a virgin, she had divine honours paid her by the Bœotians and Leocrians. For in the market-place of every city of their's she has a statue and an altar, where persons of both sexes that are betrothed offer sacrifice before marriage.

In the first general assembly of the Greeks after this victory, Aristides proposed a decree, "That deputies from all the states of Greece should meet annually at Plataea, to sacrifice to Jupiter *the deliverer*, and that every fifth year they should celebrate the games of *liberty*; that a general levy should be made through Greece of ten thousand foot, a thousand horse, and a hundred ships, for the war against the barbarians: and that the Plataeans should be exempt, being set apart for the service of the god, to propitiate him in behalf of Greece, and consequently their persons to be esteemed sacred."

These articles passing into a law, the Plataeans undertook to celebrate the anniversary of those that were slain and buried in that place, and they continue it to this day. The ceremony is as follows: On the sixteenth day of Maimacterion, [*November*] which with the Bœotians is the month *Alalcomenius*, the procession begins at break of day, preceded by a trumpet which sounds the signal of battle. Then follow several chariots full of garlands and branches of myrtle, and next to the chariots is led a black bull. Then come some young men that are free-born, carrying vessels full of wine and milk, for the libations, and cruets of oil and perfumed essences: no slave being allowed to have any share in this ceremony, sacred to the memory of men that died for liberty. The procession closes with the Archon of Plataea, who at other times is not allowed either to touch iron, or to wear any garments but a white one; but that day he is clothed with a purple robe, and girt with a sword: and carrying in his hand a water-pot,



taken out of the public hall, he walks through the midst of the city to the tombs. Then he takes water in the pot out of a fountain, and, with his own hands, washes the little pillars of the monuments,\* and rubs them with essences. After this he kills the bull upon a pile of wood; and having made his supplications to the terrestrial Jupiter,† and to Mercury, he invites those brave men who fell in the cause of Greece to the funeral banquet, and the steams of blood. Last of all he fills a bowl with wine, and pouring it out he says, “I present this bowl to the men who died for the liberties of Greece.” Such is the ceremony still observed by the Plataeans.

When the Athenians were returned home, Aristides, observing that they used their utmost endeavours to make the government entirely democratical, considered, on one side, that the people deserved some attention and respect, on account of their gallant behaviour; and, on the other, that being elated with their victories, it would be difficult to force them to depart from their purpose; and therefore he caused a decree to be made, that all the citizens should have a share in the administration, and that the *Archons* should be chosen out of the whole body of them.

Themistocles having one day declared to the general assembly that he had thought of an expedient which was very salutary to Athens,‡ but ought to be

\* It appears from an epigram of Callimachus, that it was customary to place little pillars upon the monuments, which the friends of the deceased perfumed with essences and crowned with flowers.

† The terrestrial Jupiter is Pluto, who, as well as the celestial, had his Mercury, or else borrowed the messenger of the gods of his brother. To be sure, there might be as well two Mercuries as two Jupiters; but the conducting of souls to the shades below, is reckoned part of the office of that Mercury who waits upon the Jupiter of the skies.

‡ This was before the battle of Plataea, at the time when Xerxes was put to flight, and driven back into Asia.



kept secret, he was ordered to communicate it to Aristides only, and abide by his judgment of it. Accordingly he told him, his project was to burn the whole fleet of the confederates; by which means the Athenians would be raised to the sovereignty of all Greece. Aristides then returned to the assembly, and acquainted the Athenians, "That nothing could be more advantageous than the project of Themistocles, nor any thing more unjust." And upon his report of the matter, they commanded Themistocles to give over all thoughts of it. Such regard had that people for justice, and so much confidence in the integrity of Aristides.

Some time after this\* he was joined in commission with Cimon, and sent against the barbarians; where, observing that Pausanias and the other Spartan generals behaved with excessive haughtiness, he chose a quite different manner, showing much mildness and condescension in his whole conversation and address, and prevailing with Cimon to behave with equal goodness and affability to the whole league. Thus he insensibly drew the chief command from the Lacedæmonians, not by force of arms, horses, or ships, but by his gentle and obliging deportment. For the justice of Aristides, and the candour of Cimon, having made the Athenians very agreeable to the confederates, their regard was increased by the contrast they found in Pausanias's avarice and severity of manners. For he never spoke to the officers of the allies but with sharpness and anger, and he ordered many of their men to be flogged, or to stand all day with an iron anchor on their shoulders. He would not suffer any of them to provide themselves with forage, or straw to lie on, or to go to the springs for water, before the Spartans were supplied, but placed his servants there with rods, to drive away those that should attempt it. And when Aristides was going to remonstrate with

\* Eight years after.



him upon it, he knit his brows, and telling him, "He was not at leisure," refused to hear him.

From that time the sea-captains and land-officers of the Greeks, particularly those of Chios, Samos, and Lesbos, pressed Aristides to take upon him the command of the confederate forces, and to receive them into his protection, since they had long desired to be delivered from the Spartan yoke, and to act under the orders of the Athenians. He answered, "That he saw the necessity and justice of what they proposed, but that the proposal ought first to be confirmed by some act, which would make it impossible for the troops to depart from their resolution." Hereupon Uliades of Samos, and Antagoras of Chios, conspiring together, went boldly and attacked Pausanias's galley at the head of the fleet. Pausanias, upon this insolence, cried out in a menacing tone, "He would soon show those fellows they had not offered this insult to his ship, but to their own countries." But they told him, "The best thing he could do was to retire, and thank fortune for fighting for him at Plataea; for that nothing but the regard they had for that great action restrained the Greeks from wreaking their just vengeance on him." The conclusion was, that they quitted the Spartan banners, and ranged themselves under those of the Athenians.

On this occasion, the magnanimity of the Spartan people appeared with great lustre. For as soon as they perceived their generals were spoiled with too much power, they sent no more, but voluntarily gave up their pretensions to the chief command; choosing rather to cultivate in their citizens a principle of modesty and tenaciousness of the laws and customs of their country, than to possess the sovereign command of Greece.

While the Lacedæmonians had the command, the Greeks paid a certain tax towards the war; and now, being desirous that every city might be more equally rated, they begged the favour of the Athenians that



Aristides might take it upon him, and gave him instructions to inspect their lands and revenues in order to proportion the burden of each to its ability.

Aristides, invested with this authority, which, in a manner, made him master of all Greece, did not abuse it. For though he went out poor, he returned poorer, having settled the quotas of the several states, not only justly and disinterestedly, but with so much tenderness and humanity, that his assessment was agreeable and convenient to all. And as the ancients praised the times of Saturn, so the allies of Athens blessed the settlements of Aristides, calling it *the happy fortune of Greece*: a compliment which soon after appeared still more just, when this taxation was twice or three times as high. For that of Aristides amounted only to four hundred and sixty talents; and Pericles increased it almost one third: for Thucydides writes, that at the beginning of the war, the Athenians received from their allies six hundred talents; and after the death of Pericles, those that had the administration in their hands raised it by little and little to the sum of thirteen hundred talents. Not that the war grew more expensive, either by its length or want of success, but because they had accustomed the people to receive distributions of money for the public spectacles and other purposes, and had made them fond of erecting magnificent statues and temples.

The great and illustrious character which Aristides acquired by the equity of this taxation, piqued Themistocles; and he endeavoured to turn the praise bestowed upon him into ridicule, by saying, "It was not the praise of a man, but of a money-chest, to keep treasure without diminution." By this he took but a feeble revenge for the freedom of Aristides. For one day Themistocles happening to say, "that he looked upon it as the principal excellence of a general to know and foresee the designs of the enemy;" Aristides answered, "That is indeed a necessary



qualification ; but there is another very excellent one, and highly becoming a general, and that is, to have clean hands."

When Aristides had settled the articles of alliance, he called upon the confederates to confirm them with an oath ; which he himself took on the part of the Athenians ; and, at the same time that he uttered the execration on those who should break the articles, he threw red-hot pieces of iron into the sea.\* However, when the urgency of affairs afterwards required the Athenians to govern Greece with a stricter hand than those conditions justified, he advised them to let the consequences of the perjury rest with him, and pursue the path which expediency pointed out.† Upon the whole, Theophrastus says, that in all his own private concerns, and in those of his fellow-citizens, he was inflexibly just ; but in affairs of state, he did many things according to the exigency of the case, to serve his country, which seemed to have need of the assistance of injustice. And he relates, that when it was debated in council, whether the treasure deposited at Delos should be brought to Athens, as the Samians had advised, though contrary to treaties, on its coming to his turn to speak, he said, "It was not just, but it was expedient."

This must be said, notwithstanding, that though he extended the dominions of Athens over so many people, he himself still continued poor, and esteemed his poverty no less a glory than all the laurels he had

\* As much as to say, as the fire in these pieces of iron is extinguished in a moment, so may their days be extinct who break this covenant.

† Thus even the just, the upright Aristides made a distinction between his private and political conscience. A distinction which has no manner of foundation in truth or reason, and which in the end will be productive of ruin rather than advantage ; as all those nations will find who avail themselves of injustice to serve a present occasion. For so much reputation is so much power ; and states, as well as private persons, are respectable only in their character.



won. The following is a clear proof of it. Callias the torch-bearer, who was his near relation, was prosecuted in a capital cause by his enemies. When they had alleged what they had against him, which was nothing very flagrant, they launched out into something foreign to their own charge, and thus addressed the judges: "You know Aristides, the son of Lysimachus, who is justly the admiration of all Greece. When you see with what a garb he appears in public, in what manner do you think he must live at home? Must not he who shivers here with cold for want of clothing, be almost famished there, and destitute of all necessities? yet this is the man, whom Callias, his cousin-german, and the richest man in Athens, absolutely neglects, and leaves, with his wife and children, in such wretchedness; though he has often made use of him, and availed himself of his interest with you." Callias perceiving that this point affected and exasperated his judges more than any thing else, called for Aristides to testify before the court, that he had many times offered him considerable sums, and strongly pressed him to accept them, but he had always refused them, in such terms as these: "It better becomes Aristides to glory in his poverty, than Callias in his riches; for we see every day many people make a good as well as a bad use of riches, but it is hard to find one that bears poverty with a noble spirit; and they only are ashamed of it, who are poor against their will." When Aristides had given in his evidence, there was not a man in the court who did not leave it with an inclination rather to be poor with him than rich with Callias. This particular we have from Æschines, the disciple of Socrates. And Plato, among all that were accounted great and illustrious men in Athens, judged none but Aristides worthy of real esteem. As for Themistocles, Cimon, and Pericles, they filled the city with magnificent buildings, with wealth, and the



vain superfluities of life ; but virtue was the only object that Aristides had in view in the whole course of his administration.

We have extraordinary instances of the candour with which he behaved towards Themistocles. For though he was his constant enemy in all affairs of government, and the means of his banishment, yet when Themistocles was accused of capital crimes against the state, and he had an opportunity to pay him in kind, he indulged not the least revenge ; but while Alcmaeon, Cimon, and many others, were accusing him and driving him into exile, Aristides alone neither did nor said any thing to his disadvantage : for, as he had not envied his prosperity, so now he did not rejoice in his misfortunes.

As to the death of Aristides, some say it happened in Pontus, whither he had sailed about some business of the state ; others say he died at Athens, full of days, honoured and admired by his fellow-citizens : but Craterus the Macedonian gives us another account of the death of this great man. He tells us, that after the banishment of Themistocles, the insolence of the people gave encouragement to a number of villainous informers, who, attacking the greatest and best men, rendered them obnoxious to the populace, now much elated with prosperity and power. Aristides himself was not spared, but on a charge brought against him by Diophantus of Amphitrope, was condemned for taking a bribe of the Ionians, at the time he levied the tax. He adds, that being unable to pay his fine, which was fifty *minæ*, he sailed to some part of Ionia, and there died. But Craterus gives us no written proof of this assertion, nor does he allege any register of court or decree of the people, though on other occasions he is full of such proofs, and constantly cites his author. The other historians, without exception, who have given us accounts of the unjust behaviour of the people of Athens to their generals, among many other instances dwell upon the banishment of The-



mistocles, the imprisonment of Miltiades, the fine imposed upon Pericles, and the death of Paches, who, upon receiving sentence, killed himself in the judgment-hall, at the foot of the tribunal. Nor do they forget the banishment of Aristides, but they say not one word of this condemnation.

Besides, his monument is still to be seen at Phalereum, and is said to have been erected at the public charge, because he did not leave enough to defray the expenses of his funeral. They inform us too, that the city provided for the marriage of his daughters, and that each of them had three thousand *drachmæ* to her portion out of the treasury: and to his son Lysimachus the people of Athens gave an hundred *minæ* of silver, and a plantation of as many acres of land, with a pension of four *drachmæ* a day;\* the whole being confirmed to him by a decree drawn up by Alcibiades. Callisthenes adds, that Lysimachus at his death leaving a daughter named Polycrite, the people ordered her the same subsistence with those that had conquered at the Olympic games. Demetrius the Phalerean, Hieronymus of Rhodes, Aristoxenus the musician, and Aristotle himself, (if the treatise concerning nobility is to be reckoned among his genuine works,) relate, that Myrto, a grand-daughter of Aristides, was married to Socrates the philosopher, who had another wife at the same time, but took her, because she was in extreme want, and remained a widow on account of her poverty. But this is sufficiently confuted by Panætius, in his life of that philosopher.

The same Demetrius, in his account of Socrates, tells us, he remembered one Lysimachus, grandson to Aristides, who plied constantly near the temple of

\* Though this may seem no extraordinary matter to us, being only about half-a-crown of our money, yet in those days it was. For an ambassador was allowed only two *drachmæ* a day, as appears from the *Acharnenses* of Aristophanes. The poet indeed speaks of one sent to the king of Persia, at whose court an ambassador was pretty sure to be enriched.



Bacchus, having certain tables by which he interpreted dreams for a livelihood: and that he himself procured a decree, by which his mother and aunt had three *oboli* a day each allowed for their subsistence. He further acquaints us, that when afterwards he undertook to reform the Athenian laws, he ordered each of these women a drachma a day. Nor is it to be wondered at that this people took so much care of those that lived with them in Athens, when having heard that a grand-daughter of Aristogiton lived in mean circumstances in Lemnos, and continued unmarried by reason of her poverty, they sent for her to Athens, and married her to a man of a considerable family, giving her for a portion an estate in the borough of Potamos. That city, even in our days, continues to give so many proofs of her benevolence and humanity, that she is deservedly admired and applauded by all the world.

END OF VOL. II.















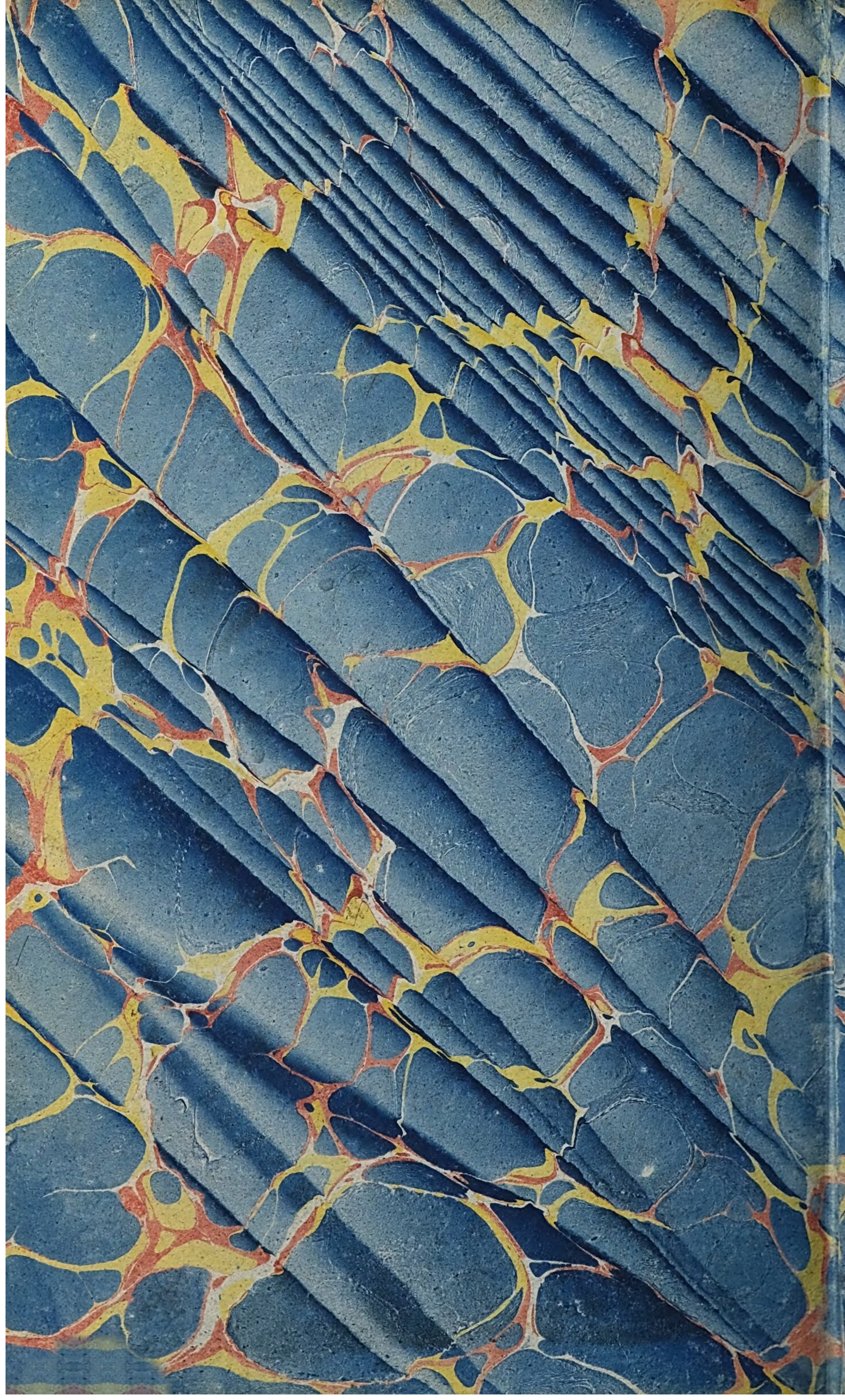




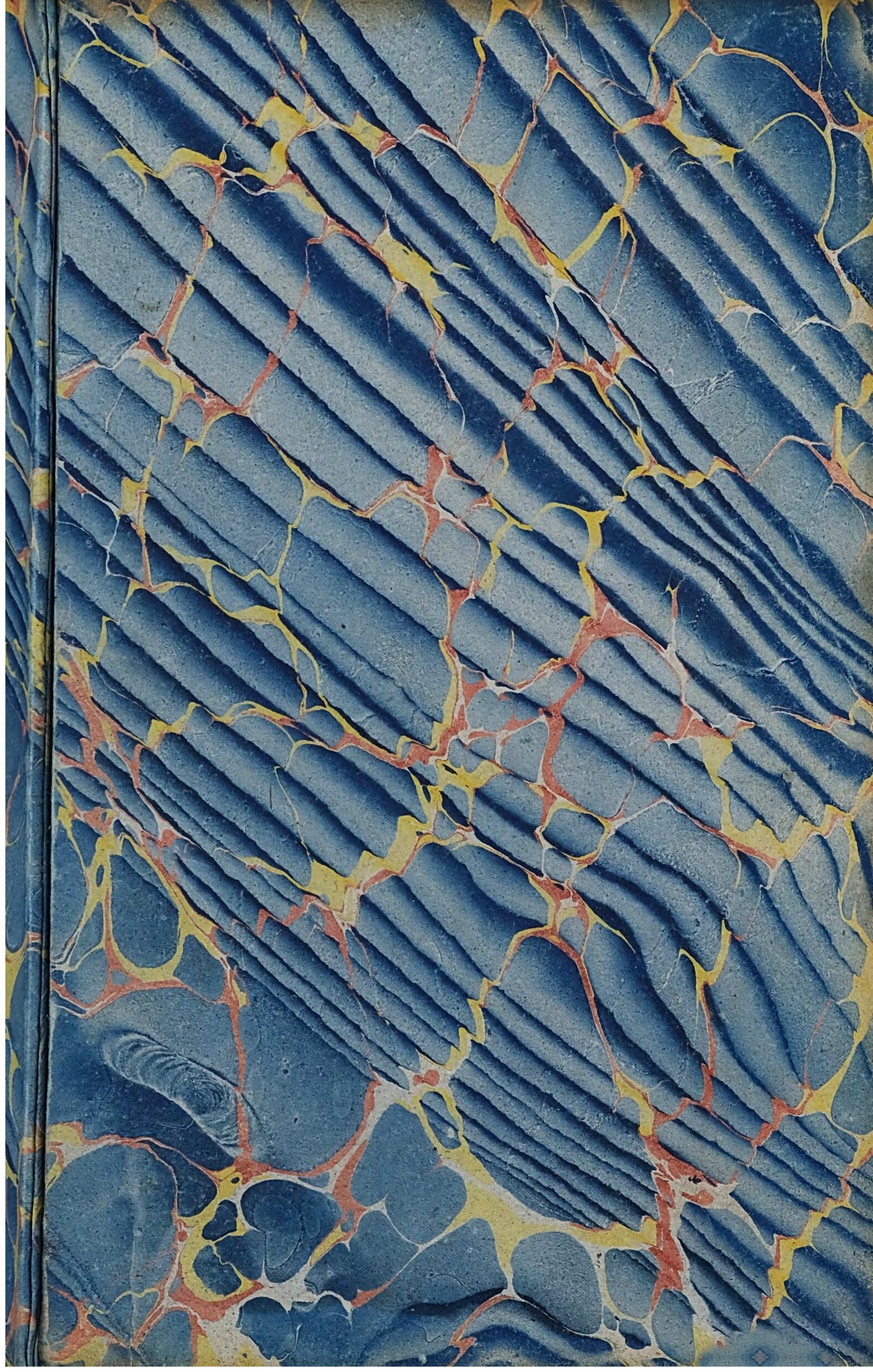


















Plutarchus, 45-120 / Langhorne, John, 1735-1779 / Langhorne, William

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